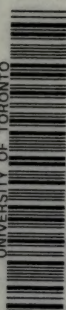
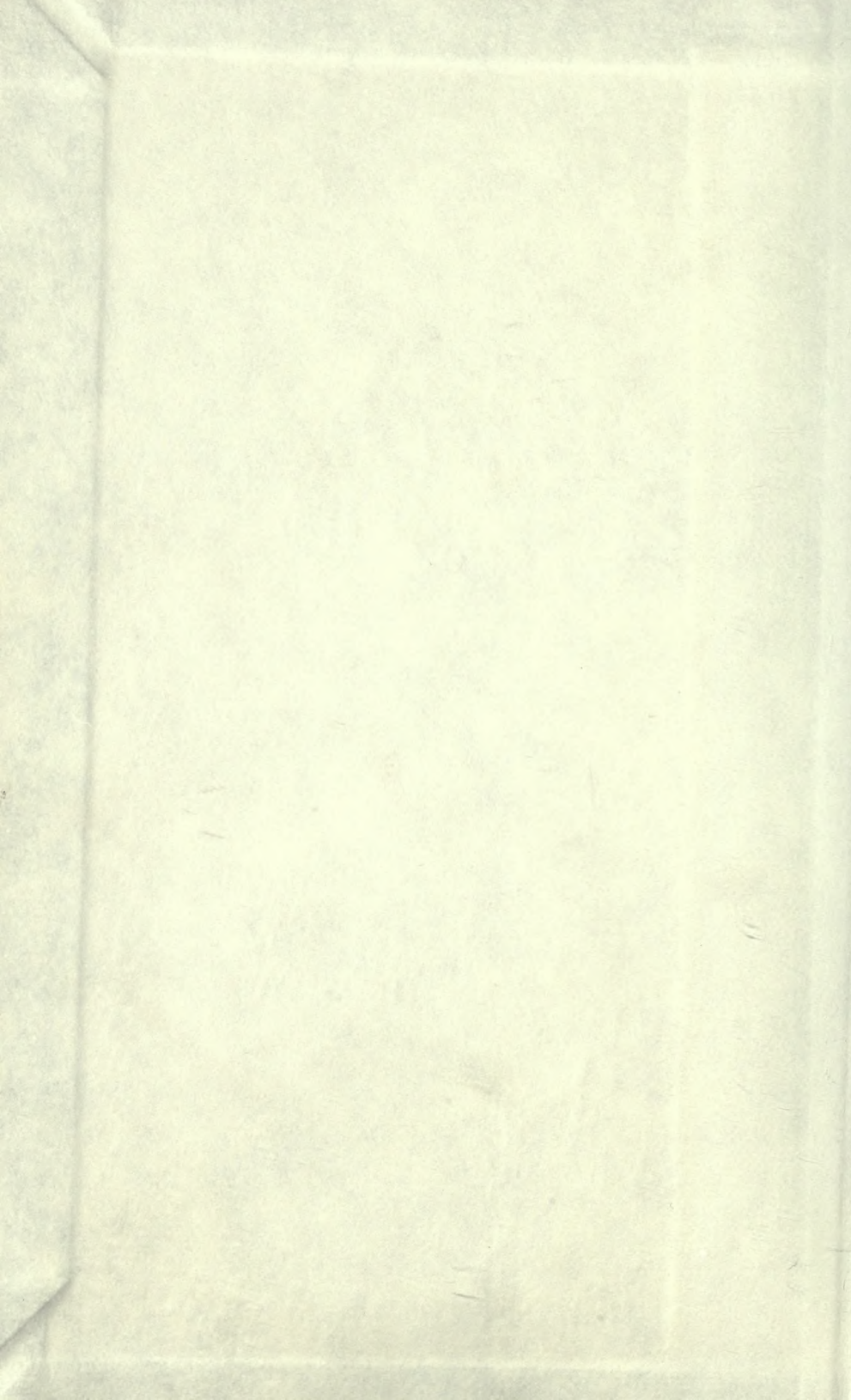
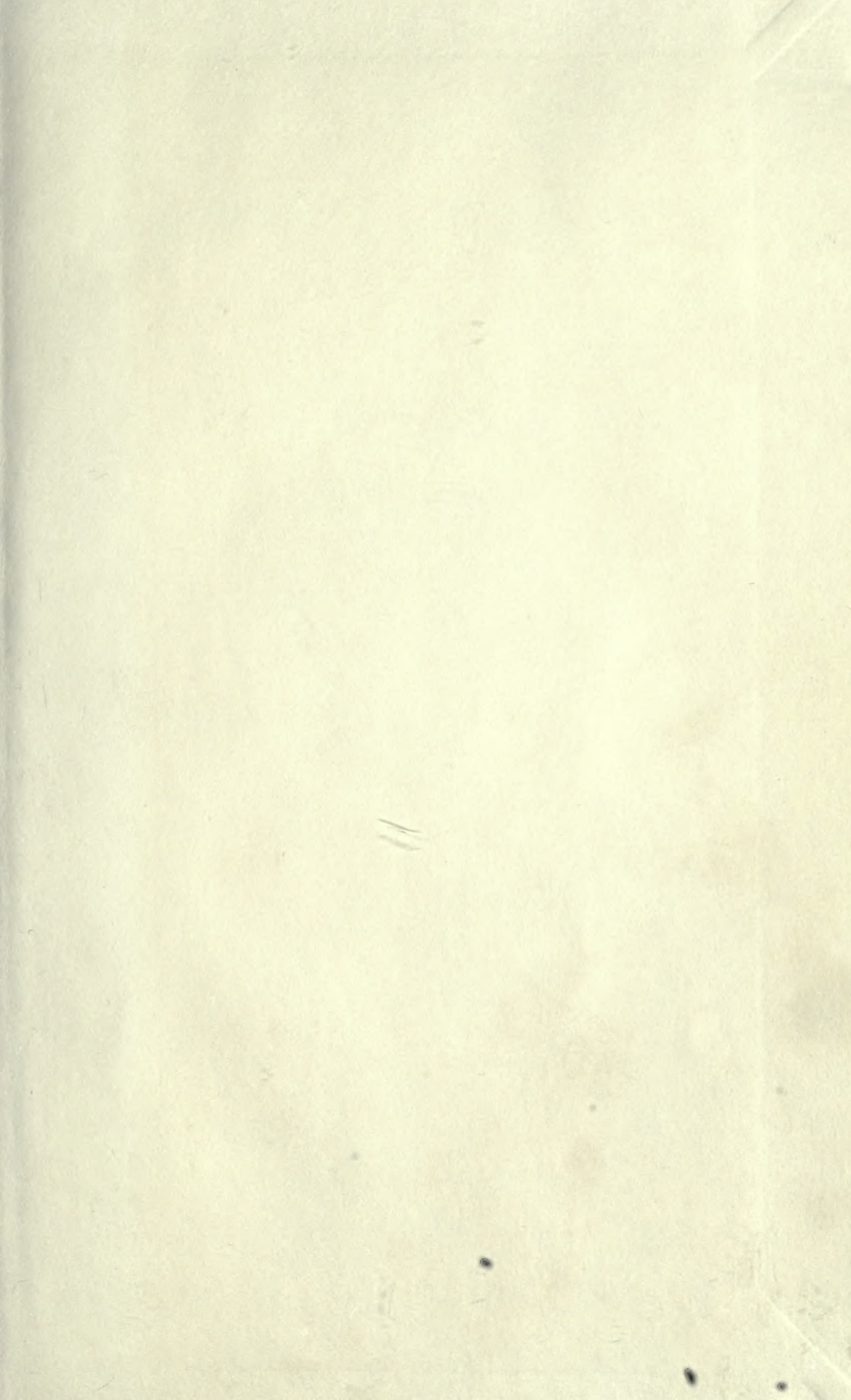


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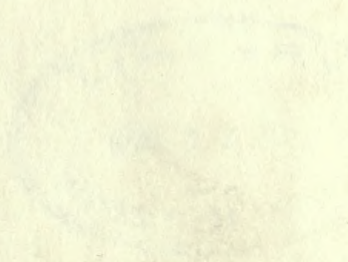


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EDITOR.

CLARK WISSLER.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IX.

Part I. Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux. (Plates 1 to 2).	
By Alanson Skinner	1
Part II. Social Life of the Crow Indians. By Robert H. Lowie	179
Index. By Miss Bella Weitzner	249
Illustrations. By Miss Ruth B. Howe	

79

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 11. Third line from the bottom, read *l* for *ī*.
Page 17. Eleventh line, omit reference to Fig. 3.
Page 47. Third line, omit reference to Fig. 26.
Page 210. Eighteenth line, for *bāsak'ā' ata* read *bāsa'kā'ata*.

1912 (from 1908)

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. IX, PART I.

NOTES ON THE EASTERN CREE AND NORTHERN
SAULTEAUX.

BY ALANSON SKINNER.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION	7
I. THE EASTERN CREE	8
HABITATIONS	12
The Conical Lodge	12
Dome-shaped Lodge	13
The Two-Fire Wigwam	14
Sweat Lodge	14
CLOTHING AND TOILETTES	14
Men's Clothing	15
Women's Garments	18
Articles Common to both Sexes	20
Mittens	21
Combs	21
Facial Painting	21
Tattooing	23
Facial Scarification	23
Method of Wearing the Hair	23
Earrings	24
FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION	24
Hunting	25
Fishing	27
Meats	28
Vegetable Foods	30
Cooking and Utensils	30
Fire Making	33

	Page.
TANNING	33
WEAVING	35
GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS	36
The Cup and Pin Game	36
Bows and Slings	37
The Otter Hunting Game	37
The War Game	37
The Dart Game	38
Caribou Hunting Game	38
Goose Hunting Game	38
Square Game	38
Football	38
Smoking	39
DANCES	40
The War Dance	40
The Conjuring Dance	40
The Feasting or Greeting Dance	40
The Deer (Caribou) Dance	40
The Bear Dance	40
Midé Dance	40
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS	41
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION	42
SIGNS AND SIGNALS	47
DIVISIONS OF TIME	48
MISCELLANEOUS	50
Leg-skin Bags	50
Grooved Stone Axes	51
Crooked Knives	51
Stone Knives	52
ART	53
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	56
Marriage	57
RELIGION	59
Shamanism	60
Hunting Customs	68
DOCTORS AND MEDICINES	76
WAR CUSTOMS	78
MORTUARY CUSTOMS	80
SOME NOTES ON FOLKLORE	81
WISÁGATCAK	83
WEMISHUS	88
THE SON OF ÁIOSWÉ	92
Tcígibis, the Hell Diver	95
Mishi Shigak, Big Skunk	96
WHY JAMES BAY IS SALT	100
THE ADVENTURES OF Tcikápis (Rupert's House Version)	100
THE ADVENTURES OF Tcikápis (Albany Version).	102
THE VIRGIN BIRTH	104
THE BEAVER WIFE	104

	Page.
THE BURNING OF THE WORLD	107
KĀNWĒO AND THE CANNIBALS	108
ORIGIN OF THE RACES OF MAN	112
THE WOLF AND THE OTTER	112
THE LEGEND OF STAG ROCK	113
THE STARS THAT MARRIED SISTERS	113
A "CONJURING STORY"	113
THE CANNIBALS	114
THE LEGEND OF IROQUOIS FALLS	115
II. THE NORTHERN SAULTEAUX	117
HABITATIONS	119
The Conical Lodge	119
Sweating Lodge or Sudatory	120
Conjuring Houses	120
CLOTHING AND TOILETTES	121
Method of Wearing the Hair	124
Personal Ornamentation	124
MANUFACTURES	125
Tanning	125
Weaving and Sewing	127
Quill Work	129
Dyes and Paints	130
Pottery	130
Use of Birchbark	130
Canoe Making	131
Miscellaneous	132
PREPARATION OF FOOD	133
Hunting and Fishing	134
Wild Rice Culture	137
Preserved Berries	138
Pemmican	138
Fire-Making	138
AMUSEMENTS	139
Dances and Music	142
Pipes and Smoking	143
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION	144
SIGNS AND SIGNALS	146
MONTHS AND SEASONS	147
DIRECTIONS AND WEATHER CUSTOMS	147
ART	148
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	149
Marriage	150
Menstrual Customs	152
RELIGION	152
Doctors and Medicines	160
Hunting Customs	162
WAR	164
MORTUARY CUSTOMS	166

	Page.
NORTHERN SAULTEAUX TALES	168
OMISHUS	168
WISÉKÉJACK	173
BIBLIOGRAPHY	176

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATES.

1. Dome-shaped Lodge, Cree of Rupert's House.
Drying Moose Meat, Sandy Lake, Ontario.
2. Cree Bark Lodge, Rupert's House.

TEXT FIGURES.

	Page.
1. Map showing the Distribution of the Eastern Cree and Saulteaux	10
2. Hooded Coat of Caribou Skin, front and back	16
3. Coat of Woven Rabbitskins	17
4. Decorated Coat	18
5. Design on a Woman's Legging	19
6. Moccasin Types	20
7. Types of Face Decoration	22
8. Wooden Spoon	26
9. Net Floats for winter Use	28
10. Spoons for eating Fish	31
11. Small Wooden Cup	31
12. Model of a Tray	32
13. Firedrill and Carrying Bag	32
14. Semilunar Knife for scraping Skins	33
15. Flesher and Beaming Tool	34
16. Pipe from Eastmain River	39
17. Pipe Bowl of Stone	40
18. A Drum	41
19. A Rattle	42
20. Dog Harness	44
21. A Toboggan	44
22. Snowshoes	45
23. Needle for netting Snowshoes	45
24. The Maxilla of a Lynx for untying Snowshoes	45
25. A Cradle	46
26. A Miniature Basket	46
27. A decorated Basket made of Birchbark	46
28. Bag made of Caribou Leg-skins	50
29. Bag made of Caribou Ears	51
30. Needle Case	51
31. A snow Shovel	51

	Page.
32. A Knife made of Beaver Teeth	52
33. A crooked Knife	52
34. Snow Spectacles	52
35. A Series of painted Designs	54
36. A bear's claw Trophy	69
37. Bears' Skulls with Ceremonial Markings	70
38. A String of Bearskin Charms	72
39. A Ring of Bear Claws	72
40. A Series of hunting Charms	74
41. Types of Saulteaux Moccasins	123
42. Cree skinning Tool	125
43. A Beaming Tool	126
44. Needle and Thread	127
45. Detail of a Straw Mat	127
46. A Bag of Cedar Bark	128
47. Basket of unusual Technique	129
48. A Rogan for storing Dried Meat	134
49. A Puzzle of Hoop and Rings	139
50. A Buzzer of Bone	140
51. A Top	141
52. A Drum and Stick	142
53. Stone-headed Pipes	143
54. Two Types of Snowshoes	145
55. A decorated Birchbark Basket	149
56. A bear Pole. Drawn from a Photograph	162



INTRODUCTION.

The data presented in the following papers consist of a series of field notes collected by the writer on two trips to Northern Canada. The first of these, in the summer of 1908, was made by canoe, from Missanabie, a point some sixty miles north of Lake Superior on the Canadian Pacific Railway, down the Missanabie River to James Bay, thence northeast to Eastmain River, the southern boundary line of Ungava. At the various posts of the Hudson's Bay Company which we visited en route, we met most of the members of the Woods Cree bands of the vicinity, who had come from their far-off hunting grounds to barter their winter's catch of furs. In this way, we were able to interview many Indians residing at remote points in the Ungava wilderness, at Lake Nitchequon, and even beyond.

The following summer we entered the northern forests at Dinorwic, west of Lake Superior, and first visited the scattered Ojibway camps on Sandy Lake, Lac Seul, Lake St. Joseph and Lake Eabamet and then descended the Albany River for its entire length reaching the Cree stationed at Fort Albany on James Bay, where further research was carried on.

The aggregate distance covered during the two trips was some 2400 miles, all of which was traveled by canoe or on foot with two half-breed guides. Owing to the roughness of the country, the exigencies of the weather, the scarcity of food, the lack of good interpreters, and other causes, there is still much to be desired in the fullness and condition of these papers. The press of other work has forced their publication in this crude, unfinished form, rather than to shelve them away to be forgotten.

New York,
October, 1911.

I. THE EASTERN CREE.

The habitat of the great Algonkin tribe known as the Cree, or Knistenaux, extends from Lake Nichequon, in the interior of Labrador on the northeast, to Lake Athabaska on the northwest. The western limit of their territory is approximately at the foothills of the Canadian Rockies, while the southern boundary may be drawn from this point, touching the northern end of Lake Winnipeg and passing on to Lake Mistassini. The body politic of the tribe is made up of two great divisions: the Plains Cree of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan prairies; and the Wood, or Swamp Cree, or Maskegon. These branches are further sub-divided into local groups. The two great divisions differ in their methods of life and material culture but are linguistically related.

The Woods Cree, or Maskegon, are now to be found in interior Labrador as far north and east as Lakes Nichequon and Mistassini. They hold the shores of James Bay, west of York Factory on Hudson's Bay, then inland as far west as the Peace River and its tributary, the Loon River. Their southern boundary is comprised by the northern horizon of the Plains in Saskatchewan and the northwest territories, and by a line drawn from Norway House on the northern end of Lake Winnipeg to Lake Mistassini in Quebec.

For the purposes of this paper, the name Eastern Cree will be used to designate that portion of the Wood, Swamp, or Maskegon division lying east of York Factory and Norway House, from whom the notes and information here presented have been gathered. In addition, however, information from the early writers in so far as it is related to the Cree residing in the forested region west of the districts where our field trips were conducted, has been employed, and where possible, the locality has been given. Their neighbors are the Naskapi of Labrador on the northeast; the Eskimo on the eastern shores of James and Hudson's Bays; the Chipewyan on the northwest; the Plains Cree, Assiniboine, and Blackfoot on the southwest; the Saulteaux Ojibway on the south; and the Montagnais on the southeast. Never a warlike race, the Eastern Cree have been almost constantly at peace with their neighbors, perhaps with the exception of the Eskimo. With the latter they have been on terms of enmity until well within the last century, when peace was brought about by the intercession of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is probable that occasional broils have occurred with practically all of their neighbors save the Ojibway. The Eastern Cree

to this day retain a vivid recollection of Iroquois forays made among them during by-gone times.

The Eastern Cree, in common with most North American tribes, know themselves as Ililu or "men among men." (The epithet is here given in the Moosonee dialect). They also know themselves collectively, in contradistinction to other tribes, as Muskéko-wug, or "Swamp people." They consider themselves to be made up of five distinct divisions:—

1. Winnipégo-wug, or "Coast-people", found, as their name implies, about the shores of James and Hudson's Bay and hunting for a very short distance inland.
2. Nutcīmiu-īiu, or "South-inlanders", in the inland forests south and east of the Bay.
3. Kīwétin-īiuwug, or "North-people", at Fort George and northward.
4. Oschéiskakamikau-īiu, or "On-the-height-of-land-people", residing on the height of land from Albany to Fort George.
5. Nékapi-ininuwug, or the "West-people", or York Cree, residing in the vicinity of York Factory.

These terms are here given in the dialect of the respective divisions.

In addition to these recognized bands, which do not correspond with the dialectic divisions of these people, the bands trading at the various rendezvous have often been designated by the names of these places since the advent of the Europeans; for example, "Rupert's House Indians," "Albany Indians," and "Moosonee." The latter term has caused endless confusion. The Moosonee,¹ are a portion of that band of the Eastern Cree, known as the Winnipégo-wug. Their rendezvous is at Moose Factory, more properly known as Moosonee, and the fact that they speak a dialect differing slightly from their neighbors, combined with the confusion of terms and local names, has lead many writers to suppose them to have been a distinct tribe. The Ojibway know the Eastern Cree as Muskéko (corrupted into Maskegon) or Muskéko-ninni, "Swamp-people," this term being merely the Ojibway form of their own name for themselves. For this reason, many writers have supposed the so-called Maskegon to have been a tribe distinct from, but related to, the Cree. This confusion probably resulted from the fact that early travelers often referred to the Woods, or Swamp Cree, as Maskegon in order to distinguish them from the Plains band. By the Eskimo, the Eastern Cree are called Allat. Other terms were not obtained.

It is probable that the original home of the Eastern Cree was south and east of James Bay, although their traditions hold that they have always occupied the region where they now dwell. Within late prehistoric times

¹ Franklin, 56, makes a similar statement.

On the other hand, the Hudson's Bay Company has constantly urged them north and west in the interests of the fur trade, so that those Cree in the vicinity of Lake Athabaska are said to have originally come from the James and Hudson's Bay regions, and some think this is true of the Plains bands. Be this as it may, it seems impossible for the forests of the north to have originally supported the present population, which is at present kept alive largely by food obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Eskimo of the coast who could obtain plenty of sea mammals, and the Naskapi of Labrador who were in close touch with the great caribou migrations, had better economic conditions.

In regard to the Naskapi, a comparison of the writer's notes obtained from the Labrador and Ungava Cree shows a remarkable agreement, in material culture at least, with Turner's observations.¹ The Cree themselves claim that the Naskapi are closely related to them. It is possible that the Naskapi may be a band of the former, kept primitive by their isolation from European contact. The Eastern Cree also claim a relationship with the Montagnais of Labrador.

The dialect spoken as far inland as the English River, 220 miles from Fort Albany on the southwest coast of the Bay, and extending southward and eastward around the Bay as far north as Fort George on the east and Agumiska Island on the west, is called by the traders and missionaries the "James Bay Cree." Between Agumiska and York, the Ojibway, who originally dwelt inland along the north shore of Lake Superior, have worked northward to the headwaters of the Attawapiscat River in pursuit of furs, since the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company, forming a northern wedge, as it were, projecting into the Cree domains. Originally, the Indians at English River spoke Ojibway, but they have been in contact with the Albany Cree until they have given up their old language for that tongue, and have lost their native culture.

The James Bay Cree are susceptible of separation into a number of different dialects; but the local modifications which occur are slight and perfectly regular, so that the Cree of this entire region can hold intercourse with each other. The dialects distinguishable are: —

Albany Cree: example, *kīna* (you), *ininu* (man).

Moose Cree (Moosonee): example, *kīla* (you), *ililu* (man).

Rupert's House Cree: example, *tcī a* (you), *īiu* (man).

York Cree.

The Fort George Indians speak the same dialect as at Rupert's House. The difference between Albany and Moose Cree is that there is no *l* in the Albany dialect, *n* taking its place. At Rupert's House the *k* as in *kīla*, you, becomes *tc*, and the *l* is omitted, as *tcīa*, you.

¹ Turner, 267.

HABITATIONS.

In former times the Eastern Cree dwelt in lodges of three general types. The conical lodge or wigwam, of bark, skins, or brush; the round arch-topped or dome-shaped lodge, also skin or bark covered; and the large two-fire wigwam. To-day, though all these types are still used, they are usually covered with canvas. The skin lodge has become obsolete.

The Conical Lodge. In constructing the conical lodge (Mitchua) two saplings are first laid on the ground with their ends converging in the form of a V. They are then bound together at the intersection of their ends. The V is set upright, standing upon the ends of the two arms which are stretched far apart, and the tip of a third pole is placed in the crotch formed by the intersection of the first two poles, and lashed there.¹ The poles are now too far apart, but they are drawn closer together at the base, elevating the top and making the sides steeper. On this three-pole foundation, other poles are laid until the framework is ready to receive a covering of skins or bark.

During the process of erecting a lodge it is regarded as exceedingly unlucky to count the poles. On the completion of the task it is, however, permissible to count them. The usual number of poles used in erecting a lodge is twenty-five, thirty, or forty, according to the size.

After the foundation poles have been raised, they are covered with rolls of bark, each of which is made up of segments sewed together to form a roll about three feet broad, and varying in length according to the position on the frame, those at the bottom being the longest. Where birchbark is not used for this purpose, slabs of pine bark are substituted, but these are not sewed together. After the cover has been put over the framework, other poles are laid upon it in order to prevent it from being blown away. As birchbark is scarce in the northern part of the Cree country, pine bark takes its place; but the former is often brought in from the south in rolls of about ten pieces, each of which is composed of a number of segments about three feet square sewn together, sufficient in all to make a plain wigwam. In building a bark wigwam, birchbark is preferred to pine bark, for while the latter is warmer it becomes too brittle in cold weather.

Formerly, many lodges were built of caribou skins. So far as could be

¹ Even the most western Cree seem to have used the same method (Henry and Thompson, 513) and perhaps the Sioux of Wisconsin (Carver, 148). In Vol. 5, 111, of this series is a misquotation to the effect that a crotched pole was used.—Ed.

learned, these were not sewed together to form a single cover as in the case of the Plains tipis, but were laid over the poles somewhat after the fashion of the small pieces of canvas shown in the wigwam in Plate 1. These lodges were often ornamented with paintings which had the value of property marks. The place of honor for guests was on the side opposite the door.

Foundations for conical lodges of brush were built in the same way. Boughs were then woven in transversely, beginning at the bottom and working upward. They were worked in tightly enough to prevent leaking. In the summer of 1908, at Eastmain River Fort, the writer saw a conical lodge in which split logs were set up on end surrounding the foundation poles. The logs were covered with canvas, and sod and moss was placed over all, causing an appearance not dissimilar to that of a sod house.

In winter-wigwams seen by the writer at Eastmain River, and at deserted camping grounds along the east coast of James Bay, it was noted that the interior of the lodge was dug out from six inches to a foot below the surface of the ground. Pine boughs were heaped about the sides for the dwellers to recline or sit upon. A fireplace generally occupied the center of the lodge and an open uncovered space was left at the apex of the framework as an escape for the smoke. This opening was quite large in fine weather but could be closed during storms by laying bark or canvas over it. There were no flaps to close the smoke hole, such as are found on the lodges of the Plains Indians. During the heat of summer the covering of skin or canvas is usually raised up from a foot to two or even more feet from the base all around, permitting the air to blow through. Poles were lashed across the interior of the tent at distances from six to eight feet from the ground from which various articles such as utensils and moccasins, were hung. Often fish were hung on this cross piece directly over the fire, in order to be casually cured by the smoke.

While the fireplace is almost always within, in the center of the lodge, it is sometimes placed outside, directly in front of, and not far from, the door. A circle of stones is usually made and earth is placed inside of them to raise the hearth above the general level of the ground. Similar stone fireplaces have been excavated on the sites of prehistoric Algonkin villages in the vicinity of New York City and elsewhere in the east.

Dome-Shaped Lodge. Round, arched, or dome-shaped lodges (mutotisan) while not as popular as the conical form, are still used. The framework is made of willow saplings. Taking a willow pole, one end is driven in the ground and the other is arched over until it touches the ground where it is also driven in and made fast. Others are bent over this transversely and then all are bound together where they intersect, until there are about fifteen tiers. The frame is covered with canvas, bark, or skins. These

dwellings are sometimes thirty or forty feet in circumference, and eight or ten feet high. The door is arch-shaped. As in the conical lodge, the place of honor was at the side opposite the door. Conjuring houses, while much smaller than the dwelling-houses, are built in the same manner as the dome-shaped lodges. (Plate 2.)

The Two-Fire Wigwam. The two-fire wigwam (shabúktowan) was rectangular in groundplan, with rounded angles. It somewhat resembled two wigwams joined together. There was a fire at either end, with a smoke hole above each. Unlike the Saulteaux, the Cree recognized no imaginary boundaries, neither were there any rules about coming and going. The name indeed, means, "the house that you walk right through." Such a lodge was usually covered with bark or skin. The place of honor was in the middle at one side farthest away from the door. It was called weskwátem, "at the back of the lodge."

Sweat Lodge. In making a sudatory, willows are bent over "like a beaver house" and bound crosswise with others, as in the building of a dome-shaped lodge. The framework is covered with skins and no opening of any kind is permitted. Stones are then heated and brought in. The user usually stays in the steaming bath for about two hours, or until the stones are cold. If it becomes too hot, an air hole is made to let out steam. Sweat baths are taken to cure any kind of sickness, but it is not now remembered whether this process was ever used for purification previous to any ceremony, religious or otherwise. No cold plunge ever followed the sweat bath among the Eastern Cree, as they believed that the shock would soften the brain.

CLOTHING AND TOILETTES.

According to information gathered from various parts of the Eastern Cree territory, in former times, leather and fur clothing was used extensively, by both sexes; but the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company placed within reach of the Indians, first cloth, and later European garments of all sorts, which they have universally adopted. Moccasins, it is true, are still worn especially by the hunters; and rabbitskin garments and blankets are used in winter. It is not infrequent, however, to see small children dressed in clothing of the old style.

In spite of the wide range separating the localities where some of my informants dwell, their information shows that the styles of clothing used in former times were remarkably uniform. Under these circumstances

it may not be amiss to cite Mackenzie's account of the garments worn by the Woods Cree with whom he came in contact during the years 1789-93, as it bears many resemblances to the data obtained by the writer, and gives us our earliest information in this regard.

Men's Clothing. "Their dress is at once simple and commodious. It consists of tight leggins, reaching near the hip: a strip of cloth or leather called assian, about a foot wide, and five feet long, whose ends were drawn inwards and hang behind and before, over a belt tied around the waist for that purpose: a close vest or shirt reaching down to the former garment, and cinctured with a broad strip of parchment fastened with thongs behind; and a cap for the head, consisting of a piece of fur, or small skin, with the brush of the animal as a suspended ornament: a kind of robe is thrown occasionally over the whole of the dress, and serves both night and day. These articles, with the addition of shoes and mittens constitute the variety of their apparel. The materials vary according to the season, and consist of dressed moose-skin, beaver prepared with the fur, or European woollens, the leather is neatly painted, and fancifully worked in some parts with porcupine quills, and moose-deer hair: the shirts and leggins are also adorned with fringe and tassels; nor are the shoes and mittens without somewhat of appropriate decoration, and worked with a considerable degree of skill and taste. These habiliments are put on, however, as fancy or convenience suggests; and they will sometimes proceed to the chase in the severest frost, covered only with the slightest of them. Their head-dresses are composed of the feathers of the swan, the eagle, and other birds. The teeth, horns, and claws of different animals are also the occasional ornaments of the head and neck. Their hair, however arranged, is always besmeared with grease. The making of every article of dress is a female occupation."¹

According to my informants, before European contact, men's clothing in winter consisted of a thinly dressed shirt of beaver or other skin with the fur turned in. The skin of an adult beaver formed the body covering, while the sleeves, which were attached to the trunk, were made of the pelts of young animals.

Leggings were made of beaver, fisher, or of the skin of the legs of the caribou, worn usually with the fur inside. They extended from the thigh to the ankle. Garters of leather or rabbitskin, with the fur on them, were worn below the knee, outside the leggings.

Hooded coats of caribou skin tanned with the hair, somewhat resembling Eskimo parkas, were also worn in winter. They were symbolically painted inside by outlining on the skin, the eyes and mouth, of the animal, signifying that the garment possessed the powers of speed, endurance, or cunning

¹ Mackenzie, 65.



b
Fig. 2 (50-7013). Hooded Coat of Caribou Skin, front and back. Length, 48 cm.

of the living animal, and was able to convey them to the wearer. So far as could be learned, this symbolism is confined to the garments of men, and the designs occur on the hood or head coverings only. Fig. 2 shows a parka of this type, of boy's size, which was obtained by the writer at Rupert's House. It is made of caribou fawn skin.

Coats with attached hoods made of woven rabbitskins were also used. These, like the parkas, were put on over the head, in contradistinction to the similar coats of rabbitskin worn by the women which were put on coat-wise and laced up in front. The tufts of hair representing the rabbit's ears are attached to the outside. These show the wearer to be as imperious to cold as the rabbit. (Fig. 3.) Rabbitskin moccasins are generally

worn only in winter in traveling over smooth ice when they prevent the feet from slipping.

Among the natives at Fort Albany, a curious interchange of culture has been observed. The typical rabbitskin garments of the Eastern Cree are the coat, hood, and blanket. The Northern Saulteaux, migrating into the territory of the Eastern Cree, finding warmer clothing than their own tanned buckskin garments necessary, borrowed the art of rabbitskin weaving from



Fig. 3 (50-7463). Coat of Woven Rabbitskins. Length, 48 cm.

them. In addition, they invented leggings, clouts, moccasins, and mittens of the same material which the Cree of Albany and Moose Forts in their turn readopted from the Saulteaux. While the Cree admit the antiquity of their fur clothing they firmly claim that many of the rabbitskin garments now used by them were acquired in this manner.

In summer, the man's costume consisted of a short-sleeved coat made of tanned skin with the hair removed, and trousers coming only to the knee. Another type of leather coat (Fig. 4) was made of thinly dressed caribou skin tanned without the hair, with sleeves coming to the wrists. Designs were painted upon the sleeves and on the borders of these coats and feathers were sometimes sewn along the sleeves in the front and back, while duck's bills and caribou phalanges were fastened upon the collars and shoulders. During the summer, trousers took the place of leggings, while in very warm weather, even these were discarded in favor of the breechclout. Especially ornate garments were worn in time of war and these were always kept outside of the wigwam in a secret place.

Women's Garments. According to Mackenzie: — "The female dress is formed of the same materials as those of the other sex, but of a different make and arrangement. Their shoes are commonly plain, and their leggings gartered beneath the knee. The coat, or body covering, falls down to the middle of the leg, and is fastened over the shoulders with cords, a flap or



Fig. 4 (10-3). Decorated Coat. Length, 99 cm.

cape turned down about eight inches, both before and behind, and agreeably ornamented with quill-work and fringe; the bottom is also fringed, and fancifully painted as high as the knee. As it is very loose, it is enclosed round the waist with a stiff belt, decorated with tassels, and fastened behind. The arms are covered to the wrist, with detached sleeves, which are sewed

as far as the bend of the arm; from thence they are drawn up to the neck, and the corners of them fall down behind, as low as the waist. The cap, when they wear one, consists of a certain quantity of leather or cloth, sewed at one end, by which means it is kept on the head, and, hanging down the back, is fastened to the belt, as well as under the chin. The upper garment is a robe like that worn by the men."¹

The writer was informed that the clothing of the women consisted of a robe of dressed skin worn like a sheet, with a hole for the head and a hole on the right side for the passage of the arm. The left side was tied or laced together at intervals. The robe was made of caribou, bear, or beaverskin, tanned without the hair, and reaching to the ankles. Separate sleeves were tied on over the shoulders like mittens, and leggings from the knees down completed the costume.

Women were always fully dressed, even in summer. In winter, hooded

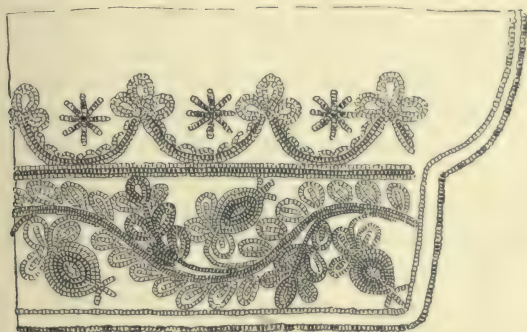


Fig. 5 (50-7056). Design on a Woman's Legging.

coats of woven rabbitskin were used, differing from those used by the men in that they were laced up in front, being put on like a coat, instead of over the head like a shirt.

After the appearance of white traders, cloth soon took the place of the ancient skin garments. The cloth garments were first cut in the aboriginal style, but were soon made in imitation of those worn by the Europeans. A few leggings of beaded cloth may still be found among the old women. These are much shorter than those worn by the men and are tied on below the knee. Fig. 5 shows the decorations on a pair of woman's leggings obtained at Eastmain River. An old beaded cloth hood, rectangular in shape and closed on two sides was shown to the writer by a Hudson's Bay trader, who had obtained it many years ago at Fort George.

¹ Mackenzie, 66.

Articles Common to both Sexes. Cloaks of skin, fastened at the throat with a bone pin were used by both sexes, as were separate caribou skin hoods, the latter usually being made of the skin of the head of the caribou with the ears left on and adorned with symbolic painting inside. Fig. 2 shows one intended for a small boy obtained at Eastmain River Fort.

Moccasins were of three styles. None of these were ever ornamented in the old days, for the Cree, like their southern neighbors, the Northern Saulteaux, claim that the embroidered moccasins now used are not of the old style. The types of footgear were:—

(1) The ordinary northern type (Fig. 6c) has a seam running from beneath the toes to the oval vamp over the instep, a short vertical seam bisecting a short horizontal seam containing a welt at the heel. A scal-

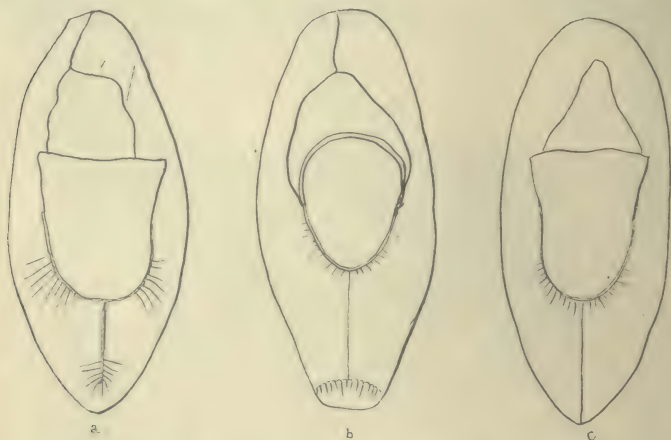


Fig. 6a (50-7004), b (50-7003), c (50-6972). Moccasin Types.

loped ankle band and welt separate the sole and upper, which are all in one piece, from the extension upper, which runs midway up the shin and opens in front. Ankle-threaded tying laces occur, which are run about the extension upper to close and secure it. Nowadays, the vamp is usually double, the upper piece being of white caribou skin embroidered with floral designs in silk. Beadwork is apparently placed on a single vamp, but is not nearly so common as the silk embroidery. Both high and low forms occur in this and other types.

(2) The "deer's tooth" style (Fig. 6b), is identical with the former, save that the toe seam ends in a short transverse seam over the toe where the sides are puckered to it in a manner suggesting the name. In the specimens collected for the Museum there is a welt between the vamp and

the sides. This form of moccasin is usually made when the skin is too thick to permit the manufacture of the first type, but it is rare. Those the writer saw in use were worn by the inland hunters from near Labrador.

(3) The third type is known to the Indians as the "rabbit's nose" type (Fig. 6a) because of the peculiar pucker in which the toe seam ends on the upper side. The seams are all turned outward and ridged. The heel seams are of the same character as in the ordinary style. This type is rarely if ever used now by any of the Cree, except those from Nitchequon and Lake Mistassini. Many of the hunters from this region who come out to Rupert's House wear them. They are said to have once been common to all the bands.

Mittens. Two types of mittens are made. The first is composed of three pieces, a thumb in one piece and hand and sleeve in two. The second type is made with a separate sleeve in one piece which is attached to the hand. Mittens are always carried suspended from the neck by means of a thong and are drawn up the sleeve when not in use.

Combs. Combs were made of birch wood, and were of the same type as those seen by Turner among the Naskapi of Labrador. They were carried about in a birchbark case. A piece of porcupine tail, which is covered with stiff bristles, was used to clean the teeth of the comb. It was usually fastened by a thong to the comb or comb box.

Facial Painting. Facial painting was much in vogue up to a comparatively recent time, old and even middle-aged men well remembering when it was done. This form of ornamentation was used for war, hunting, and ceremonies. According to Mackenzie, "A material article in their toilettes is vermilion, which they contrast with their native blue, white, and brown earths, to which charcoal is frequently added."¹ "The women,² though by no means inattentive to the decoration of their own persons, appear to have a still greater degree of pride in attending to the appearance of the men, whose faces are painted with more care than those of the women."

The designs employed were often merely geometrical, consisting of lines and dots as shown in Fig. 35; but on the other hand, attempts were made to portray realistically the mammals, birds, or fish, upon which the wearer subsisted. Sometimes these were combined with the geometric designs. This was done largely to placate the spirits of these animals that there might be no diminution of their supply in the future. In most cases, the entire animal was portrayed in profile, but occasionally the head of the caribou was drawn either in profile or full face. The bear's foot was also used as a sign of strength. A series of such designs (Fig. 7) as well as

¹ Mackenzie, 65.

² Mackenzie, 66 *et. seq.*

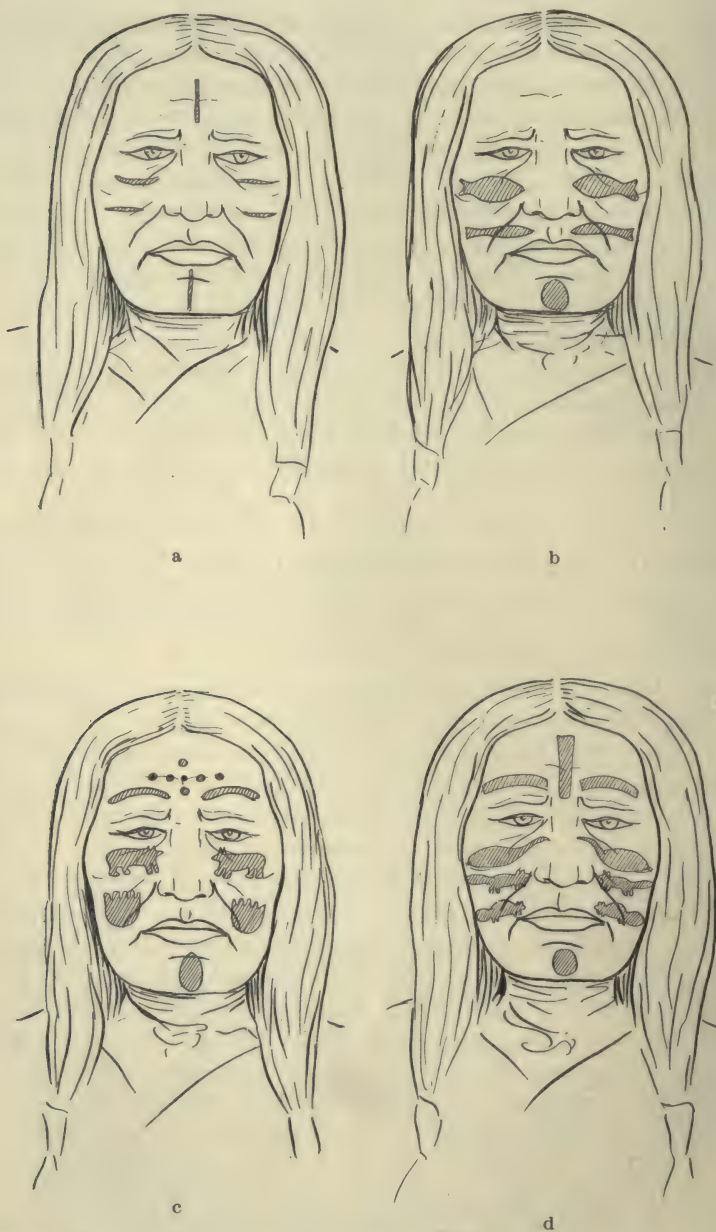


Fig. 7. Types of Face Decoration: *a* Scars as the signs of bravery and valor in battle; *b* Representing different kinds of fish as a prayer for a future supply; *c* The bear and the bear foot as a symbol of power; *d* The loon, fox, and beaver, a prayer for success in hunting.

some of the more geometrical forms, for which the meaning now seems to be lost, was collected at Rupert's House.

In summer, when elbow sleeves and trousers reaching only to the knee were worn by the men, the arms and legs, where uncovered, were smeared with paint, usually white for the arms, and red for the legs. The red paint for these purposes was made of ochre mixed with isinglass and could not be washed off. When once put on it had to remain until it wore away.

Tattooing. This was a frequent mode of decoration in the old days, but has long become obsolete. The only design now remembered is a simple band about the wrists, but it is probable that many other designs were employed. Mackenzie observes that: "Some of the women tattooed three perpendicular lines, which were sometimes double: one from the centre of the chin to that of the under lip, and one parallel on either side to the corner of the mouth."¹ Franklin says of the Cree of Cumberland House, somewhat to the west, "some of the men have their bodies covered with a great variety of lines and figures. . . . The lines on the face are formed by dexterously running an awl under the cuticle, and then drawing a cord, dipt in charcoal and water, through the canal thus formed. The punctures on the body are formed by needles of various sizes set in a frame. A number of hawk bells attached to this frame serve by their noise to cover the suppressed groans of the sufferer, and, probably for the same reason, the process is accompanied with singing. An indelible stain is produced by rubbing a little finely powdered willow-charcoal into the punctures. A half-breed, whose arm I amputated, declared, that tattooing was not only the most painful operation of the two, but rendered infinitely more difficult to bear by its tediousness, having lasted in his case three days."²

Facial Scarification. This practice is now long obsolete, but was used as a sign of personal valor. The scars were raised welts of a lighter color than the natural skin. The only design now remembered, if others there were, consisted of six straight scars: a vertical mark in the middle of the forehead on a line with the nose and between the eyes, a second vertical scar from the lower lip to the point of the chin on a line with the first scar, and two parallel horizontal scars on each upper cheek below the eye.

Method of Wearing the Hair. Mackenzie says, "Their complexion is of copper colour, and their hair black, which is common to all the natives of North America. It is cut in various forms, according to the fancy of the several tribes, and by some is left in the long, lank, flow of nature. They very generally extract their beards, and both sexes manifest a disposition to pluck the hair from every part of the body and limbs."³ According to

¹ Mackenzie 66. Also Maximilian's Atlas, Tab. 33.

² Franklin, 64.

³ Mackenzie, 65.

Mackenzie, "Their hair is divided on the crown, and tied behind, or sometimes fastened in large knots over the ears."¹

Our informant said that the men sometimes wore their hair in a single plait down the back. Another method was that seen among some of the older men who clipped it at the shoulders. Women, however, always wear their hair in two plaits, to the base of which the skins of ducks' and other birds' necks were sometimes tied. The women sometimes wear their hair in two tight braids wound flatly around the back of the head. At the present day, it is most unusual to see a Cree woman without a handkerchief or shawl over her head. Women eradicate the pubic hairs; but nowadays beards are encouraged by the men as it heightens their resemblance to Europeans.

Earrings. In former times, the ears of both sexes were pierced for the insertion of bone rings, but the antiquity of this custom is not known. Some doubt that it is of great age.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

Owing to climatic conditions, agriculture was and is practically impossible to the Eastern Cree. Berries and fruits are not at all abundant in their range, so that it may be said that they have practically no vegetable food. They rely primarily upon hunting, and secondarily upon fishing, for their subsistence.

In former times, bows were made quite short, as long ones could not be used to advantage in the forest. They were sinew-backed. Special bows were used for warfare. The bowstring was made of twisted bark. The Moose Factory Cree claim to have made flint arrow-heads by percussion, but at the more easterly Posts it was said that rubbed slate points were used. Points of antler or bone, cut by grooving with a sharp stone were more widely distributed. At present the boys at all the Posts use blunt arrows for killing small game, especially birds, but these weapons are no longer used by the men. These blunt arrows have flat-sided nocks like those of the Eskimo. Some have a swollen head with flat point and circular cross-sections while in others the cross-section is polygonal and there is a little point or hump in front. Arrows were formerly finished with two or three feathers, but they were never feathered with a twist.

¹ Mackenzie, 66.

Hunting. During the winter the rabbit, or hare, is the staff of life. Easy to snare, and occurring in great abundance throughout the northern forests, they furnish both food and clothing. They also supply food for most of the fur-bearing animals. Every seventh year, it is said, that the rabbits are seized with a disease, some form of tuberculosis, according to the Hudson's Bay Company doctor and Assistant Commissioner, Dr. Millan, which sweeps them away in great numbers. During the periods when rabbits are scarce, the Indians experience great suffering. Not only do they themselves starve, but the fur-bearing carnivora upon which they depend for the means of barter in the spring, and which, if not always very palatable, would at least sustain life, are also depleted in numbers through the general lack of food. During these bad years, for it takes two or more years for the rabbits to recuperate, the Indians are not infrequently driven to cannibalism. There are individuals at nearly every post who have tasted human flesh under these conditions.

The usual way of snaring rabbits is to set a noose made of wikopī, or willow bark, in their runways. This is fastened to a tossing pole, or sapling, which jerks the unfortunate rabbit up out of the reach of prowling carnivora. The flesh of the rabbit is usually boiled in a kettle and eaten. The paws are never thrown away, but cut off at the elbow, the hair is removed and they are dried and pounded on a stone until powdered. In this state they are carried about in winter for food.

Beaver are frequently eaten. They are caught by "chiseling". The creek where the beaver dwell is shut up above and below the houses by rows of stakes driven through the ice to the bottom of the stream. Then the houses are broken in from above. Some beaver are caught within, others escape to the creek, and finding the stakes, pass along them until they reach an opening about a fathom wide, covered with a net-like bag of bark. They run into this, and as soon as the Indian on guard on the ice feels one struggling he draws the bag tight and the beaver is caught. Sometimes beaver holes in the bank are found and blocked up and the beaver is dug out. Beaver bones are always thrown back into the water in order that the dogs may not get them, for this would so offend the spirit of the beaver that it would warn those still alive not to be caught.

Caribou are taken in winter with the bow and arrow, but sometimes with a spear. They were shot with arrows and trailed down when wounded. Formerly, when hunting caribou on the ice, it was customary to set up a row of poles with rags tied to them. The poles were arranged to form the two sides of a triangle, the hunter hiding at the apex. The deer approaching the open base are frightened by the poles and run along between the lines until they come to the apex where the hunter is able to fire at them at close

range. They were often arranged in hourglass fashion, that deer coming in either direction might be caught. This method of hunting is only used on ice and is most commonly followed at Fort George and Whale River.¹

In hunting caribou in the forest, a favorite method is as follows:— It is well known that when started caribou will run through a valley from end to end, and not up the sides. When they are discovered feeding in a valley, a hunter will go to one end and lie in wait while another, or even an unarmed boy or girl, will go to the other end, and returning, howl in imitation of a wolf. Alarmed at this, the caribou rush desperately towards the hunter lying in wait for them.

The hunter sometimes announces the death of a caribou by cutting off and bringing home a tuft of hair, or the right foreleg, severed at the knee. This is given to the person who it is desired shall butcher the carcass. No further ceremony accompanies the act, nor is the leg necessarily preserved.

All forms of "driving" are usually done over bare hills where there is little or no forest or underbrush. Slip noose snares, sometimes with heavy tossing poles, were set along trails in the snow. The animals were driven down the paths and were caught and choked to death in the snares.

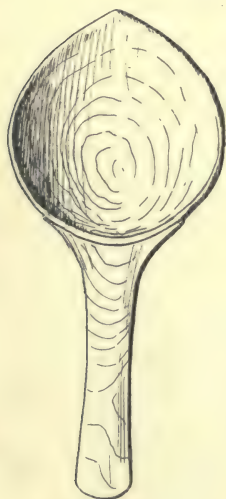


Fig. 8 (50-6977). Wood-
en Spoon. Length, 32 cm.

Caribou meat is eaten either fresh or smoked. The blood is mixed with the undigested white moss found in its stomach, and sometimes "rock-weed" (a lichen) is added to thicken it. It is boiled and eaten with a shallow, round-bowled wooden ladle (Fig. 8). The legs of the caribou are singed free of hair, cooked, and eaten. When hunting, the leg bones of the caribou are pounded to a powder, put in a little sack and carried to eat on the journey. This bone powder is also boiled as a substitute for tea. When in the forest, a small bag-like part of the caribou's stomach, called the owao, is used as a kettle for cooking food. It is carried while journeying, and usually lasts about a week. So far as the writer could learn, moose, which are found in the southern range of the Eastern Cree, is pursued, taken, and used in the

same manner as the caribou.

The bear is an important article of diet. In the old days, the hunters engaged the bear in hand to hand conflicts and clubbed it to death, for the bow and arrows were not considered strong enough weapons. Bears

¹ See Vol. V, 51.

were frequently killed in their winter dens in this manner. At present, bears caught in steel traps are sometimes killed by striking them over the head with an ax, although they are usually shot. Dogs were and are used in their capture. In the summer time, the bear is generally trapped, either in modern steel traps, by means of a deadfall, or a strangling noose. The subject of bear hunting, and the elaborate attendant ceremonies which have grown up concerning it are described elsewhere (p. 69).

Lynx are also eaten. Owing perhaps to their nocturnal habits these animals are hard to catch. They are trapped both in summer and winter; but in winter they are usually run down with snowshoes and killed with an ax. If the lynx runs up a tree, a noose is put on a pole and thrown over its neck, and it is hauled down and choked to death.

Seals are eaten by the Winnipégo-wug who shoot, harpoon, or club them to death when they come ashore. The Coast Cree also take whales by means of harpoons. They claim that the taking of both seals and whales with harpoons is of Eskimo origin and that within comparatively recent times was introduced through European influence. Seal-skin is tanned and used for some purposes.

Ducks and geese were taken with the bow and arrows or with snares, but they are now killed with guns. Every fall and winter the Hudson's Bay Company buys from the Indians great quantities of gray, snow, and blue geese, which are salted down in barrels for future use.

On the coast, loons, while too strong in flavor for use most of the year, are often eaten in the spring. In the interior, their flesh is milder and is eaten all the year round. The entrails of ducks and geese roasted in the ashes are considered a great delicacy, especially in the fall, when the birds are very fat.

Partridges and ptarmigan are taken in snares. Long parallel hedges of sticks are built with holes for the birds to enter. Nooses are set in these and the birds driven in and caught. Large nets are spread and gravel put in them. The partridges come to get this, and the net is pulled over them.

Fishing. Jack-fish (pike) and sturgeon are usually speared. The spear used in the old days consisted of a wooden foreshaft to which were fastened two barbed harpoon-like blades of bone at angles to each other, fastened to a long handle. The blades were driven into the fish and the backward pointing barb prevented its escape. Such spears are still used, but the bone blades have been supplanted by iron. Gill nets were originally made of willow root bark, but now of twine. However, the Indians at present generally prefer to buy their nets ready-made from the Hudson's Bay Company. They are set along the banks of rivers, especially at the mouths of streams. Two specimens secured at Moose Factory are in the collection. The sink-

ers are plain unnotched stones, bound around by bands of willow bark. For floats, peeled sticks about two inches in circumference and two feet long are used. In winter, the net floats are made like an apple seed in shape as floats of this shape are said not to freeze in the ice (Fig. 9).

Fishing through the ice was originally carried on with a fish hook made

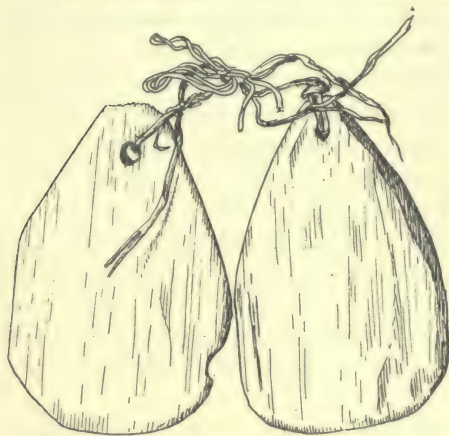


Fig. 9 (50-7042, 7043). Net Floats for winter Use. Length, 13 cm.

of a bone barb bound to an oblong-shaped piece of wood. The bait was tied to this and lowered through a hole in the ice. When angling for fish that live near the bottom the line is sunk by a stone sinker. When the bottom is reached the line is hauled up again, the proper distance gauged, the sinker removed, and the line again lowered. The end of the line is then tied to a wooden hook, or running stick, which is again placed over a stick set up obliquely in the snow or ice; the line

being let out to the proper distance, the slack is wound up and secured by a slip knot. When a fish takes the bait, the slack line unwinds and the hook or running stick slides down the oblique rod to the ground, warning the fisherman that he has a bite.

Meats. Meat is usually roasted on a spit, or "poneask". The rump of the caribou or bear, and the shoulder of the beaver are generally so treated. Sometimes flesh was roasted on a grill of green poles or sticks built over the fire. Fish are dried, smoked, and also occasionally cooked in this way. Pemmican is made of meat dried on a grill over a fire till crisp, and pounded to a powder, with the addition of caribou grease. Fish is also treated in the same manner. An uncommon method of cooking meat is to wrap it up so that no dirt can reach it, and then place it in a hole in the sand which has previously been heated by a fire. Hot sand is then heaped over it and another fire built on top.

Meat to be "poneasked", or roasted, is cut as thin as possible and a spit run through it from end to end, lengthwise. It is then spread out by means of wooden skewers, or spreaders, which cause it to receive the heat evenly. The spit is set obliquely, very close to the fire. Deer, moose, and caribou hearts are often suspended from a tripod by a string, the meat

secured to the string by means of a skewer. This is swung close to the fire and is kept revolving in order to obtain a uniform degree of heat.

Meat of all kinds is smoked and dried for future consumption. While meat is often roasted, it is frequently boiled. In boiling fish, it is considered that the flavor is better preserved if they are thrown into the kettle, scales, entrails and all. After they have been cooked for a time, the scales are easily rubbed off and the entrails removed. As has been stated, the water in which fish is boiled is considered a very healthy beverage.

The nose, heart, and tongue of all species of the deer family are considered great delicacies. Marrow is obtained by splitting the bones, and is eaten either roasted, raw, or boiled. The joints of animal bones are pounded up as finely as possible by laying them on a flat stone and striking with a stone pestle or the back of an ax. They are then boiled to obtain the grease. This is run into moulds and kept there until it cools and hardens. In this form it is kept in birchbark boxes. Meat is often mixed with it.

On August 18, 1909, the writer was so fortunate as to witness the manner of smoking moose meat for preservation. As a matter of fact, the curing of the meat was accomplished by drying up the juice of the flesh by the heat from the fire. The name smoked meat is a misnomer, "fire-cured meat" is more correct. The moose was butchered by two Cree, and the following day the flesh was cut up and dried on a scaffold built over the fire. The scaffold was formed of four upright sticks of green wood which were driven into the ground in the shape of a rectangle at a height of about three feet. Longitudinal bars were lashed on the long sides. These cross pieces used in the grill were from a foot to eighteen inches in length, flattened on the sides in order to hold the meat firmly. The bars were first laid two flat ends and then two round ends, alternately. Then a grill, also made of green wood, was laid crosswise over them. The meat was carefully removed from the bones and cut into thin strips, which were hung over the cross bars of the grill. A rather large fire was built under it and the heat and smoke served to cure the meat enough to make it last for several days. This process took about two or three hours. One man was constantly employed going about the grill, keeping the raw meat turned towards the fire. This method of drying meat is the quickest, but meat so dried is not cured as thoroughly as when it is smoked on a frame built of three poles fastened together at the top with cross bars on which the meat is hung. It is smoked for several days and will last a long time. The method here described is generally employed when traveling. When meat has been hastily dried in this manner by a traveling party, the Indians often stop canoeing more than usually early in the day in order to erect a hasty scaffold and repeat the process during the evening and ensuing night. Smoked meat

may be eaten as it is, or it may be boiled, or perhaps fried, according to taste. When fish are to be preserved for future use they are placed on a grill of green wood over a fire and smoked.

Vegetable Foods. Vegetable foods were almost unknown. Berries, especially blueberries were eaten. They were boiled until they formed a paste, and then cut into loaves. As most of the Eastern Cree territory is beyond the northernmost range of the sugar maple, they have no maple sugar or syrup; but "birch water molasses" is made. Roots are often eaten. The tops and the stems of wild onions are cut up and boiled, but the roots are not eaten. A plant said to resemble rhubarb is also used.

Cooking and Utensils. In cooking while traveling, part of the stomach of the caribou or moose is often used as a kettle. It is hung from a bar upheld by cross pieces or from the end of a stick driven obliquely in the ground, directly over the fire over the flame and will last for use about a week. Wooden pans and bowls were used to boil food. In this case, hot stones were dropped in the water to heat it; such bowls are now obsolete. Vessels or baskets of birchbark are used for boiling water. They are placed directly over the fire, and do not last as long as the stomach kettle.¹

Pottery is unknown to the Eastern Cree who used vessels of steatite or soapstone. The form of these has been forgotten. These had the advantage of being able to stand the heat if placed directly on the fire. Such vessels were necessarily clumsy and heavy, and were not carried when traveling. The skull caps of animals were also used as culinary utensils.

The parfleche of the Plains is unknown, but meat is sometimes carried in a bark roll. This is made of three pieces of bark sewed together with root thread. Sticks are fastened at each end to prevent the bark from splitting. The roll is spread out on the ground and the feasters sit about it as around a table. The meat is laid upon it, cut up, and distributed. The roll may be six, eight, or ten feet long. This primitive table cloth is kept rolled up when not in use.

Several types of spoons used in eating and preparing food were obtained. The first of these possesses a shallow, rounded bowl and is used for eating caribou blood mixed with moss. The second, has a longer oval pointed shallow bowl and is used for ladling out boiled fish. A third type is called the "bear's foot" spoon, from its shape (Fig. 10b). Whether it has a special use could not be learned. The handles of some large spoons or ladles from Fort Albany are ornamented with deep scallops at the base of the bowl.

Several crude spoons were made at the writer's request by Indians at Moose Factory. As wooden spoons are apparently no longer used there

¹ See Vol. V, 45.

it may be that these were reconstructed from memory. They certainly are very crudely and poorly constructed and are of a different shape from those obtained at other Posts. They are dyed yellow with willow root dye. Children's toy spoons occur and are made in imitation of the larger types.

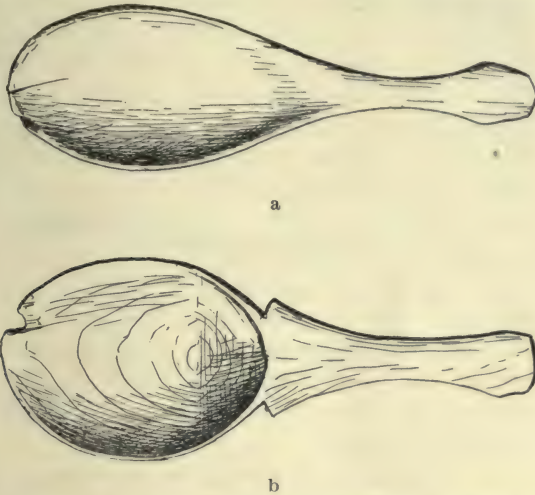


Fig. 10a (50-6976), b (50-6975). Spoons for eating Fish. Length of, a, 35 cm.

A flat, square-bladed bread turner and stirrer, with a handle over a foot long was observed in use among some women with the Mistassini voyageurs at Rupert's House.

A child's small wooden cup (Fig. 11) with a perforated handle was also collected from these voyageurs.

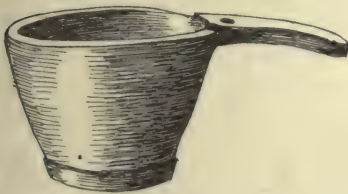


Fig. 11 (50-6981), Small Wooden Cup. Depth, 5 cm.

Dr. F. G. Speck informs the writer that similar cups in use among the Montagnais, Abnaki, and Passamaquoddy (the former sometimes come to Lake Mistassini) are worn suspended from the belt by means of a thong and wooden button. The model of a wooden tray here figured was obtained at Rupert's House (Fig. 12). Wooden bowls and trays, while in common use in the forests, are very

difficult to obtain since they are always cached at the camping grounds and rarely brought to the Posts.

When leaving a camping place to which it is expected the party will return, it is customary to cache, or store, a certain amount of food, and

utensils which it is not desirable to take along. These are usually placed on scaffolds high in the air to be out of the way of lost dogs, wolves, and

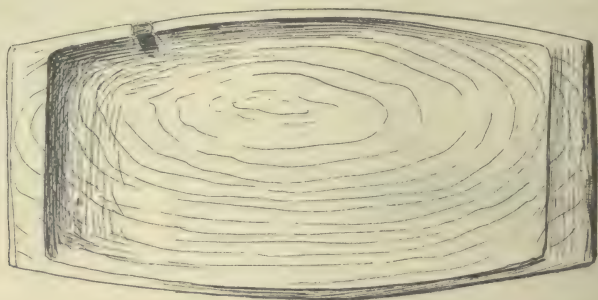


Fig. 12 (50-6982). Model of a Tray.

especially wolverenes. No person destroys or steals a cache, and unless driven by starvation will never tamper with one. A cache was seen at Black Bear's Point on the northern end of James Bay, slightly west of the mouth of the Nottoway River.

In former times the only two meals were in the morning and at night; but it is probable that food was frequently eaten between times.

In winter, drinking water is sometimes obtained by placing a snowball in a stone having a panlike hollow, fastened in the end of a split stick, and melting the snow over the fire.

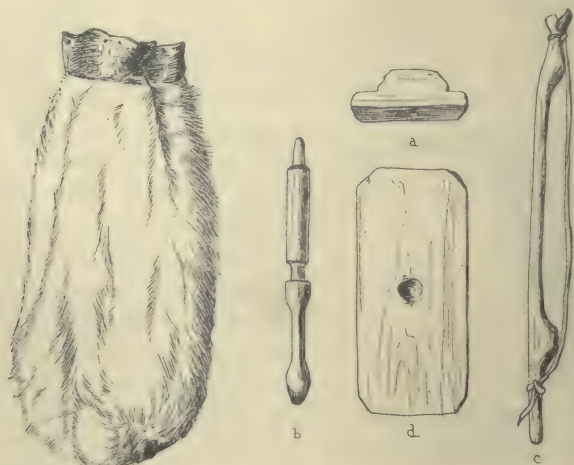


Fig. 13 (50-6987). Firedrill and Carrying Bag.

Fire Making. A four-piece bow firedrill, somewhat resembling the Eskimo perforator, was used in the old days. The model (Fig. 13) obtained, is incorrect as the hand-cap for holding the top of the shaft should be perforated at one side to hold tinder, for fire was sometimes generated here before it was obtained on the hearth. A bag of caribou leg-skin was used to carry the firedrill (Fig. 13). Before they had the bow firedrill, the Eastern Cree claim that they used to strike two pieces of "white flint" (quartz) over touchwood. Touchwood is the punk or dry under-bark of a dead tree. It was always kept dry for use as tinder while traveling. A birchbark box was sometimes used for this purpose. When a spark was obtained it was placed in the touchwood between two pieces of charcoal, and blown upon until the charcoal became ignited. Then shredded birchbark was added. Fire was also carried about for days smouldering in birch punk. For firewood, dry sticks and limbs were broken, not chopped off, and dragged to the wigwam. The sticks were placed in the hearth so that they radiated like the spokes of a wheel and as they were consumed the unburnt parts were shoved into the fire to feed it.

TANNING.

The manufacture of leather, as practised by the Cree differed in some essentials from the methods employed by the Plains and Gulf tribes, but resembled the process used by the Woodland peoples in general. The task was divided into six parts: flaying, fleshing, scraping, braining, working, and smoking. As soon as the animal is killed, the hunter proceeds to flay it. The skin is cut down the belly and the inside of the legs, and is removed with the assistance of a wedge-shaped bone skinning tool.¹ In winter, the skin is allowed to freeze and is kept in this condition awaiting the leisure of the tanner, but in warmer weather it is well to flesh it at once. For this purpose the skin is pegged out on the ground and scraped with a semilunar knife (Fig. 14) which is used by the Eastern bands, but a chisel-shaped scraper with or without teeth often takes its place to the westward. When

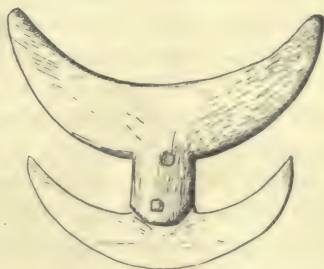


Fig. 14 (50-7047). Semilunar Knife for scraping Skins. Length, 9 cm.

¹ For illustration see Fig. 42.

the superfluous tissue and skin has been removed, the scraping process begins. The skin is thrown over the smoothed upper end of a log driven obliquely in the ground, and a beaming tool (Fig. 15) made of the shin bone of a deer, is grasped firmly in the tanner's hands and pushed over the skin against the grain of the hair, until the fur has been shaved away. After this, the skin is washed and hung out to dry.

Once dry again, a mixture of animal grease and brains is worked thoroughly into the skin, which is warmed from time to time. When this process is concluded, it is again hung out to dry. When the skin is dry once more, it is taken down and soaked and the brains and grease washed out. The

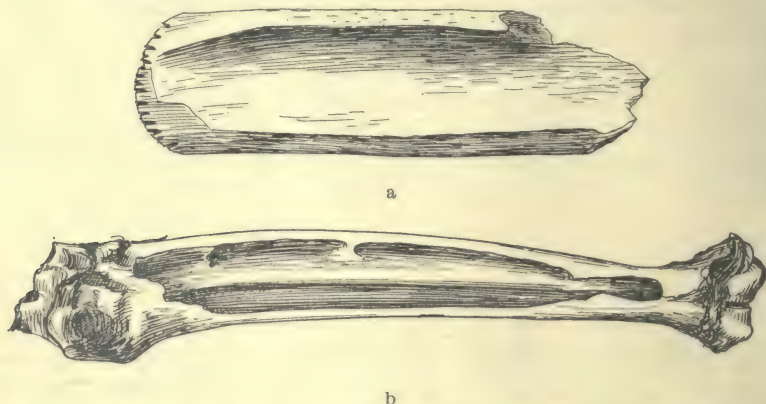


Fig. 15a (50-6995), b (50-7457). Flesher and Beaming Tool.

wet skin is now worked and stretched with the hands while it dries, until it becomes pliable. The skin is now beautifully white and soft, and is ready for use as it is, but in this condition it is likely to become mouldy, and is not very durable. In order to obviate this difficulty, it is sewed up in a bag-like form, and suspended from a tripod, by the closed bottom of the bag. A pot of smouldering punk is swung underneath, until the skin is saturated with the fumes. The tanning is now completed unless it is desired to make the leather waterproof, when it is soaked in the liquor of boiling willow bark which serves fairly well. Nowadays, skins are seldom tanned with the fur, but the method is similar except that the scraping process is omitted.

WEAVING.

Garments of rabbitskin were universally worn both in summer and winter, and the custom still survives although to a lesser extent. The process of their manufacture is as follows:— The fresh skin of a rabbit is removed by making a single cut at the breast and the body is drawn through the opening. Then the skin is turned inside out, and placed over a stick which is put up in the middle of the wigwam. Next the skin is cut into string. Taking the skin in the left hand, the Indian holds his knife against it near the tail and revolves the skin around the stick, the strand unwinding itself as it is cut. When a sufficient amount of string has been made, it is twisted. One end of the string is tied about the middle of a stick about six inches long while the other is held down with the foot to prevent its turning. Holding the string near the stick in one hand, it is twisted by revolving the wood with the forefinger of the other hand.

Another method of twisting rabbitskin string is to split a stick about six inches long at one end and to insert one end of the string in the split. The other end of the string is held firmly with the foot, the stick is placed against the right thigh and rolled rapidly by the right hand with an up and down movement. The cord which is now ready for use is wound into a ball until needed.

For weaving blankets, a frame consisting of four sticks is lashed together in the form of a rectangle the size of which varies in accordance with the desire of the worker. To begin the blanket, a bark cord is wound about the frame, or loom, in order to bind it loosely to a strip of the rabbitskin string along the inner edge to form the outer margin of the garment. Then a piece of the rabbitskin string carried along by a bone needle is taken and looped at intervals over the margin cord.

While the Eastern Cree use frames to make the blanket, the Northern *Saulteaux* often do not take the trouble to do this, but weave the blanket on a single stick, and on rarer occasions, use no frame at all but merely a piece of string. However, blankets made in this manner are quite inferior to those made with a loom. In working, the needle is shoved down from the top over the margin cord.

Miss M. L. Kissell of this Museum has kindly identified the weave as the "coil without foundation" variety, which is in common use among various *Athapaskan* peoples.

To make a coat, that part of the garment which covers the trunk is

worked up on the loom in exactly the same way as a blanket, but holes are left for the sleeves. In case of the sleeves, a stick is set up in the ground and a piece of cloth or skin is wrapped about it until it has reached the proper size. A string is then tied around the top and the weaving is started downward in the same manner as a blanket is woven, until the desired length is attained.

Leggings are made in the same manner as the sleeves; moccasins are manufactured over a buckskin moccasin stuffed out in the shape of the foot. Breechclouts are usually made with the fingers without a loom.

For hoods, the measurement of the head is taken with a string of rabbit-skin and this is tied together in a circle. The hood is then woven with the fingers on this string base, no needle being used.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS.

Oddly enough, no record of any gambling games was gathered among the Eastern Cree, although they have a number of pastimes which are used for this purpose elsewhere. Franklin observes that the Cree of Cumberland House and westward had the platter game and the game of mittens and lacrosse.¹ While Franklin's notes on lacrosse correspond with our data, the other two games were unknown to the Cree visited by the writer. It must be remembered, however, that the natives of Cumberland House were far enough west to have come in contact with the Plains tribes.

The Cup and Pin Game (Tap-han). This is an old game and has two forms with several counting systems. The game seems to simulate the taking of caribou with spears and is played by any number of persons, each player playing until he fails to score, when he passes it on to the next one. As played at Eastmain River and Rupert's House, it consists of five worked caribou phalangeal bones, four of which are cut into conical shape, strung on a buckskin thong with a wooden or bone striking pin fastened at the end. The large open ends of the bones are nearest the pin, and when not in use rest one over the other. The joint of the topmost bone is not worked down, the thong passes through a hole in the top of the condyle where it is fastened to a piece of caribou tail. There are four holes, one on each side of the condyle.

The object of the game is to toss the bones in the air and catch them on

¹ Franklin, 65.

the striking pin, the count being as follows: — each individual bone, counting away from the striking pin, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10. If more than one bone is caught, the player receives the sum of the counts granted for each bone. If the pin penetrates the hole at the posterior of the condyle, 50; of the anterior, called “the back of the neck,” 40; the right side and left sides, known as “the ears,” 20, and 30, respectively. The caribou hair is known as “the tail,” and if by any chance the pin catches in this, 100 is scored.

At Moose Factory, catching the bones counts, 8, 10, 12, 15; but the other counts were not secured. Another form of the game which the Cree claim was derived from the Ojibway closely resembles the form seen by the writer among them just north of Lake Superior. The phalanx units are five in number and count one a piece, and twenty for each of the four holes surrounding the condyle. The difference between this game and the typical Cree form is that a piece of perforated buckskin is used instead of a caribou tail, each perforation counting 10.

The Fort Albany Cree count as follows: — 1 for each of the ten phalangeal units; 5 for each ear; 10 for “the back of the neck”; 20 for each hole in the buckskin; stringing all the bones at once, 10 points; stringing the tail, 20 points; stringing the last bone next the tail, 10 points; catching any hole on the side of the bone, “the ear,” 5 points; and catching the tail, the game, regardless of the former count.

Bows and Slings. Bows and blunt arrows, and the bow gun, the latter doubtless a European innovation, are seen in daily use by the Indian boys at all the Posts.¹ The bows range from several feet to five or six inches in length. Very diminutive ones are quite common. A sling was observed which consists of a small perforated piece of buckskin to which are attached two long thongs. It is whirled violently around the head for a moment, the user then lets go of one string, and the stone is propelled a considerable distance with no great degree of accuracy.

The Otter Hunting Game. This game is played by two men. Ten wooden otters are set up, each smaller than the other, and shot at with pointed arrows. The game consists in hitting the smallest otter which is kept moving with a stick. When it is struck, the game is won. The game is lost to the player who shoots away all his arrows without hitting the smallest otter.

The War Game. This was an old-time game played by men and boys to teach dexterity in dodging missiles, a necessary part of a warrior's education. It was naturally most extensively practised just before going to war. One man ran back and forth in front of the warriors who shot blunt arrows at him, which he attempted to dodge or ward off.

¹ Dr. F. G. Speck has observed the bow gun used by Montagnais boys.

The Dart Game. A thong was tied to the end of a supple stick about three or four feet long, and a large arrow "with a big tail" notched to receive the string was fastened to this. The object of this game was to throw the arrow up out of sight.

Caribou Hunting Game. This game, observed by the writer among the Eastmain River Cree, is quite similar to that mentioned by Turner¹ as found among the Naskapi. A board about a foot long and six inches high was carved to represent a caribou with a branching twig for antlers. This was set up on a stick about 18 inches high, and served as a target for a crowd of small boys, who from a distance of from six to ten feet flipped pebbles at it with a stick. This "pop-gun" was about ten inches long, rounded at the base, and tapered to a point. It was grasped at the rounded end with the right hand, and pressed against a pebble held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the grip of the thumb and forefinger being relaxed, the pebble was flipped or propelled forward as though by a catapult. Among the Naskapi, this game is played with bows and arrows, and the Cree also use these weapons for this purpose.

Goose Hunting Game. Two boys representing hunters sit on the ground in a blind. Two others, carrying goose feathers in their hands, approach from different directions. As they draw near, the two hunters let fly pebbles at the feathers with their "flipping sticks" or "pop-guns." If they hit one, the carrier drops it. The hunter killing the most game wins.

Square Game. This game resembles the European "puss in the corner," and "fox and geese."] A square is drawn in the snow, and in the center stands the person who is "it" (called by the Indians "the cannibal"). The other players occupy the four corners of the square. The object of the game is to run from corner to corner without being touched by "the cannibal." If "the cannibal" succeeds in touching anyone, that person becomes "it" and takes his place.

Lacrosse is said to have been played formerly at Moose Factory, but is now obsolete.

Football. The game consists in kicking the ball from one goal to another. Any number can play, but usually the sides are fairly even. The only rule seems to be that no one is allowed to throw the ball. The goals are very close together, perhaps not more than one hundred feet apart. The ball is made of tanned skin, stuffed with hair, and is about as big as a man's head.

Cat's cradle was observed but the forms and rules were not obtained. Hand ball is also a common game. The ball is similar to the football, but smaller, and there seem to be no rules.

¹ Turner, 326.

A number of English or European games, especially cards, are much in vogue. Some occur in a modified form. Checkers, played with a regulation board, and thirty men, all of the same color, is the most prominent of these. Fox and geese, played with a board, two foxes and fifty geese, may also be seen.

A windmill toy, made with six six-inch revolving blades, and a handle about three feet long, is made and fastened where the wind catches and whirls it. This is claimed by the Cree as an old native toy but is probably an importation. In former times, dolls were carved from wood, and fully dressed. Such dolls have been entirely displaced by the advent of toys of foreign make, and can no longer be obtained. Carvings of animals, fish, and birds, were also made. The children play with miniature wigwams and utensils. Little girls are fond of playing house and sometimes dress up puppies instead of dolls. Children are never whipped, but are allowed to do just about as they please without training of any kind.

Smoking. The oldest form of pipe among the Cree has an elongated stone bowl set upon a perforated base, and is according to McGuire's¹ classi-

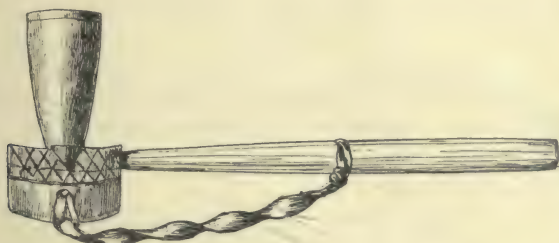


Fig. 16 (50-7046). Pipe from Eastmain River. Length, 16 cm.

fication of the Micmac type. Through the basal perforation is fastened a cord, which is attached to the stem and prevents the bowl from falling off and breaking. While this is the common form of pipe among the Naskapi of Labrador and Ungava, as described by Turner,² it is now obsolete and very hard to obtain among the Eastern Cree. A specimen collected at Eastmain River Fort, is shown in Fig. 16. The stems of these pipes are made either of wood or of hollow bone.

The modern stone pipe differs from the old form only in that the bowl is very much shorter, and that the string or thong from the bowl to the stem,

¹ McGuire, 479.

² Turner, 302.

and the stem itself are usually beaded. For commercial purposes these pipes are known as one, two, and three "beaver" pipes, according to their value in skins. They are now usually made to sell, but a very few are still used. Fig. 17 is a stone pipe bowl coming from Fort Albany on the west coast of James Bay, and shows a type in use there. It has a large bowl, an imperforate base, narrowing below the bowl and expanding like the tail of a fish. About the constriction was tied a thong for fastening it to the stem. It is an old specimen. How universally these were used on the west coast it is difficult to determine. The east coast people claim that these pipes were common there.



Fig. 17 (50-6960).
Pipe Bowl of Stone.
Height, 5 cm.

Red willow, and a ground-trailing plant called "minik (duck) leaf" were smoked, and, while admitting they have smoked and used pipes for a long time, the Indians doubt that tobacco was ever grown by them. It is not now raised at any of their camps.

DANCES.

Memories of but few native dances now remain among the Eastern Cree and these have been set aside for the square dances of Europeans. For this reason, information concerning the old dances is very hard to obtain but so far as could be learned they were:—

(1) The War Dance. From statements made by old Cree at Moose Factory, Rupert's House, and Eastmain River Fort, the writer gathered that this was preceded by the "Discovery Dance," in which the warriors imitated the pursuit, battle, and final defeat of the enemy. As its name implied, this dance was given before going into battle.

(2) The Conjuring Dance. Like the war dance this ceremony took place before a battle, and was given to insure success over the enemy.

(3) The Feasting, or Greeting Dance. The dance was held in the spring when the families came together at their chosen rendezvous. A survival made over into an English square dance, is still held at the Posts when the hunters arrive in the spring.

(4) The Deer (Caribou) Dance.

(5) The Bear Dance. A small square enclosed yard was made and the conjuror sat in the middle and drummed. All the adults, men or women, entered the enclosure and danced about the conjuror.

(6) Midé Dance. Part of the midéwin ceremonies of the Albany band partook of the nature of a dance.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The musical instruments of the Eastern Cree are few in number. The drum and rattle are most common. Rattles were never used for an accompaniment to singing or dancing, but only to soothe fretful children. Drums, however, were used, and these were like the shaman's drum, though different in some particulars. Dancing drums of Indian make have been entirely superseded by those bought from the Hudson's Bay Company. They are said to have been smaller in circumference and of greater depth. It is not known whether they were painted. No information as to the use of the flute was secured.

Of drums, two kinds are in vogue among the Eastmain and Labrador bands. The conjuror's drum is a foot or more in diameter and three or four inches thick. The heads are made of caribou parchment stretched across and held down by a narrow hoop. The rawhide on either side is then brought up around the outside of this hoop and held down by another; the opposite hoops are tightly laced by a rawhide thong. Both the upper and lower heads are crossed by a band bearing three dumb-bell shaped resonators. A loop of rawhide is usually left at the top for suspension. The second variety, used only in social dances, is now obsolete. It was broader than the conjuror's drum, and probably not decorated, otherwise it resembled it closely.

These drums are decorated by painting in vermilion. The one shown in Fig. 18 is surrounded by a half inch band of red inside of which is a row of dots in vermilion. In the center is a large dot surrounded by a circle of others. A row of large dots

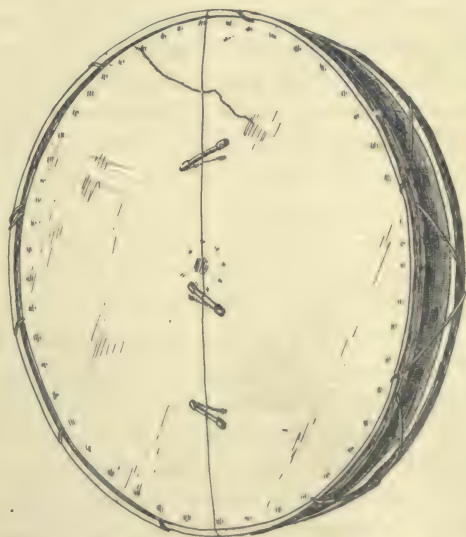


Fig. 18 (50-7005). A Drum. Diameter, 44 cm.

encircles the sides. The obverse is the same, save that a tear in the drum head has been sewed up with sinew and the patch rubbed with vermilion. This drum closely resembles one obtained by Turner among the Naskapi.



Fig. 19 (50-7002). A Rattle. Diameter, 12 cm.

The stick for beating such a drum is now made of an "Eley's" percussion cap box of tin, filled with shot and perforated to receive the wooden handle at top and bottom, making a rattle as well as a drumstick. Formerly, two discs of caribou horn fastened to sides made by a circular band of this substance were used for a rattle box and drumstick head.

The Albany Cree have three types of drums: a narrow double-headed, a long cylindrical double-headed drum, and a tambourine drum. All of these were used at feasts. By this band, the rattle was used to keep time for singing and conjuring. Fig. 19 represents a typical rattle. It is circular, one side projecting to form a handle. The sides are held together by wooden pegs. The pieces of rawhide are stretched over it to form the heads and these are sewed with sinew along the sides. Sometimes the rawhide is also stretched over the handle.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION.

Owing to the great extent of the dense northern forests, overland trails are practically unknown. Most of the summer traveling to and from Hudson's Bay is done by canoe along the rivers. The canoe birch does not grow to a large size in the northern part of the range of the Eastern Cree, or else the bigger trees have been destroyed by the Indians so that birchbark canoes are becoming rarer every year at Eastmain River Fort and Rupert's House. Owing to this scarcity, those seen by the writer were made of many small pieces of bark.

Owing to the difficulty in obtaining birchbark it has long been imported in rolls for canoe and tent-making. Now, however, most canoes and wigwams are covered with canvas purchased from the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany. At Rupert's House, in 1908, there was not a single birchbark canoe, all those seen were canvas-covered.

The Eastern Cree canoes have lower and less rounded bows than those of the Ojibway, who border the southern part of their country. The writer was informed, however, that the canoes used at Fort George, and in Ungava and northward along the Hudson's Bay proper, have such very high bows that they are called "crooked" canoes. This is to aid in battling with the waves on the open sea.

Canoes average twelve or fifteen feet in length, but those used by the Labrador voyageurs are often twice that size and sometimes more. They are capable of bearing enormous weights, and many will hold twenty or more men. The paddles used are short and rather clumsy. They have no swelling at the end of the handle to facilitate the grip. In paddling, the Eastern Cree take shorter and more jerky strokes than their Ojibway neighbors on the south. When a fair wind is blowing, a blanket or even a bush is set up in the bow for a sail. In shooting rapids, the men at the bow and stern (the bowsman, by the way, is considered the leader) always stand upright in the canoe when approaching the head of the rapids and gaze down the stream for a moment, noting the easiest course for travel in an incredibly short space of time. When they reach rapids which are known to be bad, they sometimes go ashore and follow down the stream to examine the course. If the rapids prove wild, the canoe is then lightened and they proceed, or portage around, as the case may be. All steering in the rapids is done from the bow, the man in the stern merely keeping the boat straight. In ascending streams, it is usual to pole up many of the rapids. This is accomplished by pushing from the bow and stern. Where the water is too deep for poles and too swift for paddling, the canoe is towed from the shore by one of the voyageurs. Bundles are carried across portages by means of a burden strap which passes across the forehead. However, not a single specimen of "tump line" of aboriginal make was observed.

In winter, sleds drawn by Eskimo dogs, are used in traveling, but according to the Indians this custom was derived from the Eskimo, from whom the Eastern Cree still purchase dogs for this purpose. A dog harness of Indian make is shown in Fig. 20. Toboggans are used to draw provisions when traveling. They are seven or eight feet long, narrow, and slightly turned up in front. Sleds to transport canoes over the snow are still used, and the type is said to be ancient. Fig. 21 represents one of these, drawn from a model which does not represent the old style canoe sled. The canoe was placed bottom upwards and bound on.

The snowshoes in vogue on the coast are short, light, and flat at the ends. They are all made expressly for running and jumping or when following the

dog sleds. Three types were observed: — (1) elongated west coast type, specimens of which were obtained, but had to be discarded along the Moose River on the return trip; (2) round east coast type, with pointed tail; (3)



Fig. 20 (50-7065). Dog Harness.

round eastern interior and Labrador type with rounded tail. "Bush" or forest snowshoes, are long, large, heavy, and turned up in front. The man's size ranges from four to five feet in length. They are used for travel-



Fig. 21 (50-7989). A Toboggan

ing in deep snow in the forest. For teaching children to use snowshoes, small round "bear's foot" type shoes are used. The pair here shown (Fig. 22) came from Rupert's House. Chisels of beaver teeth were once used in perforating the framework of snowshoes.

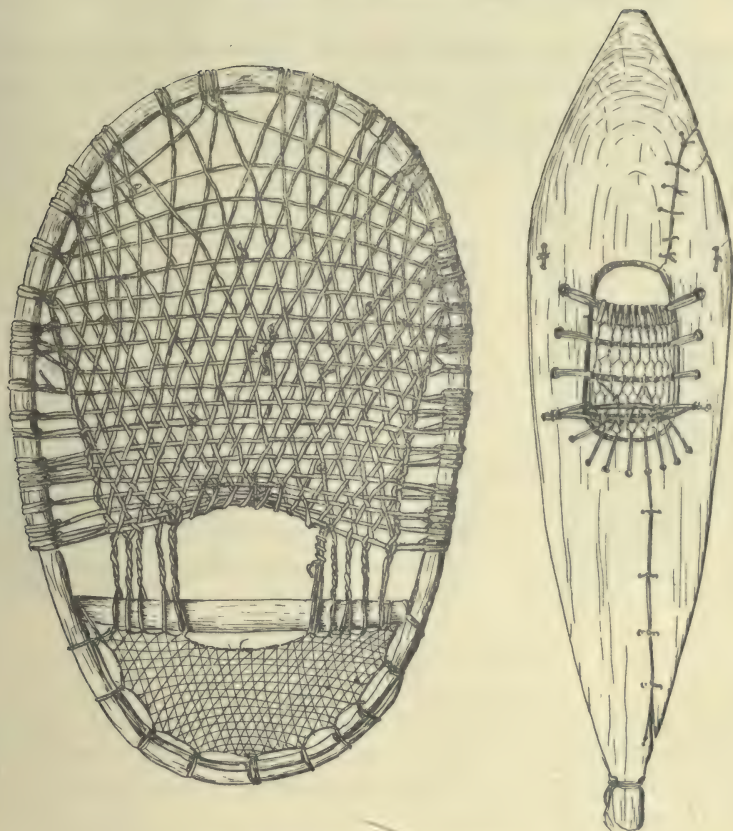


Fig. 22 (50-7018, 8005). Snowshoes.



Fig. 23 (50-7001).
Needle for netting
Snowshoes. Length,
9 cm.

In weaving the gut net of the snowshoes, bone needles, perforated in the middle, about three inches long and pointed at the ends, are used (Fig. 23). For untying the laces of the snowshoes when frozen, and the fingers are too numb with cold to manipulate them, one of the inferior maxillae of the lynx is used. It is not worked in any way (Fig. 24).

For carrying children, a simple bag laced up the front and stuffed with moss is used. In permanent camp, however, a baby board is used (Fig. 25). To this

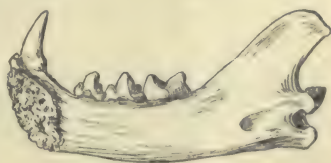


Fig. 24 (50-7052). The Maxilla of
a Lynx for untying Snowshoe Laces.

a strip of cloth or skin is fastened along the sides. It laces up in front and is stuffed with moss to make the child comfortable and to absorb urine. For this purpose, the drawers and trousers of small boys and girls are also stuffed with dry moss.



Fig. 25 (50-6943). A Cradle.

A line of twisted caribou rawhide rubbed with vermilion and decorated at intervals with beads and puffs of goose down resembles very much the caribou snare figured and described by Turner as occurring among the Naskapi. It differs, however, in that at its termination it is bound to an elongate oval pointed piece of birch wood painted red, from which projects a notched bone barb at an angle of 45 degrees. This line

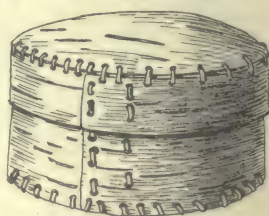


Fig. 26 (50-6986). A miniature Basket.

is used to drag home caribou carcasses in winter, and the hook is to hoist up the green skins beyond the reach of the dogs. These implements are considered of great importance by the Indians, who often hand them down from father to son. Songs are occasionally sung in their honor.

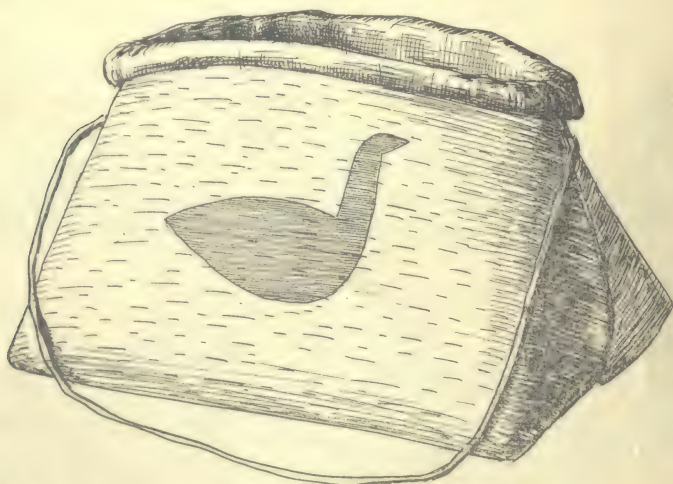


Fig. 27 (50-8082). A decorated Basket made of Birchbark. Length, 26 cm.

Carrying baskets of birchbark are used in traveling. They have extension tops of leather or cloth closing with a drawstring and are carried by a headband. Fig. 26 shows a miniature one of these from Rupert's House, and Fig. 27 another with decorated sides, top, and bottom, from Lake Mistassini.

SIGNS AND SIGNALS.

In traveling through the trackless northern forests fellow-travelers are rarely met, and some means of communication between the nomadic Indian households being necessary, a series of signs has been evolved. Writing of a realistic character on birchbark was no doubt once used but this art is now lost on account of the introduction, by the missionaries, of a system of syllabic writing quite comparable to our shorthand. Besides these two methods of communication, a third form, probably as old as the first, still survives. This is by means of signs set up along trails and at camping grounds, especially in the winter, the season of activity.

A party about to leave a certain spot, and wishing any one following it to know at what time the camp was left, will draw a circle in the snow and set up a stick in the middle, marking the shadow of the stick as cast by the sun on the snow at that time. The next person to come along will at once judge by the distance of the shadow from the mark how long it has been since the first party left. The age of the circle or of a nearby track is reckoned by its appearance, the fall of snow upon it, and other indications.

The distance of a preceding party's camp is represented by the height at which a perpendicular twig intersects the oblique stick.

To mark a trail, a stick is placed obliquely on the ground, the elevated end pointing in the direction taken, and trees blazed to show the path. If the path deviates, sticks are inclined in that direction.

A signal to express "we are starving" is made by girdling and shaving a standing tree. This is done in order that a chance passer-by may perhaps bring aid. A sign of "plenty, nothing wrong" is made by blazing a tree on opposite sides. If visitors are welcome, a stick is inclined in the direction of the camp.

Death in camp is signified by girdling and shaving the trunk of a standing tree, painting the cut part black, with charcoal, and felling the tree so that the cut base rests on the stump, or if it is a small tree, by tying down the top. The size of the tree represents the age of the person; an old or large tree meaning an old person, and a young sapling, a child. The number of trees so marked, indicates the number of deaths.

A signal for the convocation of all the neighboring Indians is made by repairing to a small island on some lake, where little damage can be done, and burning the timber. The ascending smoke is visible for a long distance in the clear northern atmosphere. A signal meaning "come here", is made by burning birchbark on a rock. It gives off a dense black smoke and when done in calm weather, a high steady column of smoke is obtained.

DIVISIONS OF TIME.

The Cree year is divided into eight seasons and twelve months, or moons. The seasons are: *sigun*, spring before open water; *miluskamin*, spring, after the water is open and before summer; *nipin*, early summer; *mégwani-piu*, middle summer; *tûkwagun*, early autumn; *mîgîskau*, late autumn; *pîchîpipun*, early winter, just before the frost; *mégwapîpun*, late winter. The months or moons are: January, *gîshépâpîwatêkîmumpîzun*, the moon when the old fellow spreads the brush;¹ February, *cépîzun*, old month; March, *mîgîsupîzun*, eagle month; April, *mîskîpîzun*, gray goose month; May, *alîgîpîzun*, frog month; June, *sagîpukawîpîzun*, the month leaves come out; July, *opaskwuwîpîzun*, the moon when ducks begin to moult; August, *opunhopîzun*, the moon young ducks begin to fly; September, *wéwéopîzun*, wavy or snow goose month; October, *opînamowîpîzun*, the moon the birds fly south; November, *kaskâtinopîzun*, the moon the rivers begin to freeze; December, *pâpîwatîginashîpîzun*, the moon in which the young fellow spreads the brush. ✕

In this connection it is interesting to note the names of the months and seasons as collected by Harmon.² They are as follows: "Winter, A-pe-pook or Pepoon; Spring, Me-is-ka-mick or Se-gum-uck; Summer, Nic-pin Autumn, Tuck-wâ-gin." It will be seen that he gives but four seasons, following the European idea, probably not suspecting that the Cree made any difference in this respect. Of these, the terms for all but summer and early autumn differ from our information. In regard to the months he has: "January, Kush-a-pa-was-ti-ca-num o Pes-im, Extreme cold Moon; February, Kee-chay o Pes-im, The Moon when small birds begin to chirp or

¹ This means literally, the moon when the old fellow, that is, the winter, causes the pine needles to drop on the snow, forming a covering, like the pine boughs laid on the floor of a wigwam for bedding. The laying of these boughs on the wigwam floor is called, "spreading the brush."

² Harmon, 321.

sing; or Kich-ee o Pes-im, Big, or old Moon; March, Me-ke-su o Pes-im, Eagle Moon; April, Nis-ka o Pes-im, Goose Moon, as at this season, these animals return from the south; May, I-ich-e Pes-im, Frog Moon; June, O-pin-â-wâ we Pes-im, the Moon in which birds begin to lay their eggs; July, O pus-ko we Pes-im, The Moon when birds cast their feathers; August, O-pâ-ko we Pes-im, The Moon when the young birds begin to fly; September, Wâ-wâs-kis o Pes-im, The Moon when the moose¹ cast their horns; or A-pin-nâs-ko o Pes-im, The Moon when the leaves fall off from the trees; October, O-no-chi-hit-to-wa o Pes-im, The rutting Moon; or O-ke-wa-ow o Pes-im, The Moon when the fowls go to the south; November, Ay-e-coop-ay o Pes-im, Hoar frost Moon. Kus-kut-te-no o Pes-im, Ice Moon; December, Pa-watch-e-can-a-nas o Pes-im, Whirlwind Moon."

Mackenzie says:—

"With respect to their divisions of time, they compute the length of their journies by the number of nights passed in performing them; and they divide the year by the succession of moons. In this calculation, however, they are not altogether correct, as they cannot account for the odd days.

The names which they give to the moons are descriptive of the several seasons.

May	Atheiky o Pishim.	Frog-Moon.
June	Oppinu o Pishim.	The Moon in which birds begin to lay their eggs.
July	Aupascen o Pishim.	The Moon when birds cast their feathers.
August	Aupahou o Pishim.	The Moon when the young birds begin to fly.
September	Waskiscon o Pishim.	The Moon when the moose-deer cast their horns.
October	Wisac o Pishim.	The Rutting Moon.
November	Thithigon Pewai o Pishim.	Hoar-Frost-Moon.
	Kuskatinayoui o Pishim.	Ice-Moon.
December	Pawatchicananasis o Pishim.	Whirlwind-Moon.
January	Kushapawasticanum o Pishim.	Extreme cold Moon.
February	Kichi Pishim.	Big Moon; some say, Old Moon.
March	Mickysue Pishim.	Eagle Moon.
April	Niscaw o Pishim.	Goose-Moon." ²

¹ A case of mistaken identity. The Cree for moose is MûsE; wa-wash-tcesh is the Virginia deer.

² Mackenzie, 73.

It will be found that differences exist between the lists in regard to the names for the months of June, September, November, and December. Of course, allowances must be made for translation, orthography, and dialect. It is interesting to note that Harmon in some cases gives two synonyms for the same month, whereas the writer collected none. The absolute differences may best be accounted for by local environment, some natural occurrences being more emphatically notable in one locality than in another.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Leg-skin Bags. Women's bags, made of the skin of the legs of the caribou, are to be found in every well-regulated Cree wigwam. These bags are of various sizes (Fig. 28) and are used to carry family effects. One seen



Fig. 28 (50-7059). Bag made of Caribou Leg skins. Length, 48 cm.

by the writer looked as if the hair had been removed, but as close examination was not possible, it may be that this was the result of attacks by moths.

A peculiar feature of these bags, which lace up at the top, is a skin handle on each end. A small bag, similar to some of the preceding (Fig. 29) resembles the leg-skin bags in every particular save that it is made of the skin of caribou's ears. Netted carrying bags are used to transport clothing and utensils. They are now made of commercial twine, but formerly were composed of twisted bark string.

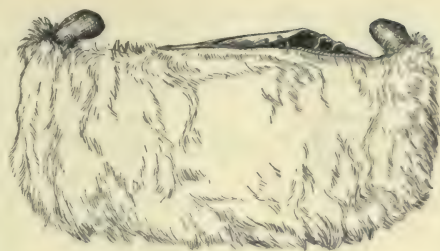


Fig. 29 (50-6991). Bag made of Caribou Ears. Length, 29 cm.

Needle cases are made of hollow bird bones stopped up at one end (Fig. 30). They greatly resemble the bone tubes found on the prehistoric and early historic Iroquoian sites of Western New York, Southeastern Ontario, Canada, and on the sites of the Madisonville culture in Ohio and Kentucky. These prehistoric tubes were in some cases undoubtedly used as beads, and in others as paint pots, but they may also have had a use as needle cases, like those seen among the Cree.

Snow shovels of wood are commonly used. They are four or five feet long and resemble long spoons or scoops. Fig. 31 represents a small specimen of a type used as toys by the children.

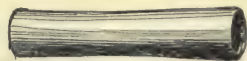


Fig. 30 (50-7000). Needle Case. Length, 6 cm.

Grooved Stone Axes. In former times, the Eastern

Cree used grooved stone axes. The blade was set in a handle, split at one end, and bound above and below the split with deerskin. Stone celts were fastened in wooden handles, the handle being at right angles to the blade as in an adze. These were used as ice chisels. When working wood, fire was not used by these people to aid in cutting. The Cree at Moose Factory stated that some axes for cutting branches for firewood were made of deer (caribou or moose) shoulder blades or beaver rump bones.

Crooked Knives. These were made of beaver's teeth. A set of beaver's teeth so used was collected at East-



Fig. 31 (50-6983). A snow Shovel.

main River Fort (Fig. 32). The Indian from whom the implement was secured claimed that it had no handle, but was merely held in the hand.



Fig. 32 (50-7053).
A Knife made of Beaver Teeth.

Others, however, disagreed with him, and claimed that such knives had wooden handles. Steel or iron-bladed crooked knives are now used (Fig. 33).

Chisels of beaver's teeth, with wooden handles were used in making snowshoes in the old days.

Stone Knives. The Cree of Moose Factory claim to have made flint knife blades by percussion, but those at Rupert's House and east and north of there made slate knife blades by rubbing. When it was necessary to sharpen such knives, they were rubbed with limestone, wetting it with saliva.



Fig. 33 (50-6955). A crooked Knife. Length, 25 cm.

Slate semilunar scrapers, identical in shape with the Eskimo woman's knife, or ulu, were used as fleshers in working skins.

Bags are made of the bladder of the black bear, to hold grease for various purposes.

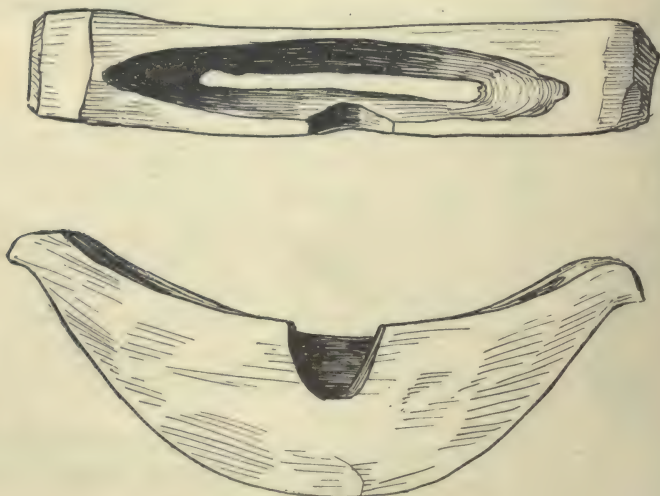


Fig. 34 (50-7845). Snow Spectacles.

Snow spectacles of birchbark are worn (Fig. 34). These go over the nose. As they are blackened inside, and not perforated at all, if the wearer wishes to look out he is obliged to tilt his head back and look out from under them.

Splint baskets are never made nor are mats of any sort manufactured by the Eastern Cree who claim never to have had them. However, they now purchase cheap Japanese matting from the traders. Baskets of birchbark are used when the material is obtainable, but if not, pine bark is used for the purpose. The bark baskets are usually oblong with rounded corners and are of one piece, sewed at the corners with roots. About the top, they have a couple of withes, bound or sewn on to make a firm edge.

ART.

The art of the Eastern Cree is meager in comparison with that of some other Algonkin peoples. Originally, but few designs were used for purely decorative purposes, the majority of them having a religious or utilitarian significance, while the protective designs so well known to some of their neighbors were apparently unknown. Nowadays, when the former order of things has been quite thoroughly broken up through European influence, the old meanings have become obscured or lost, and many religious symbols have become decorative.

Painting is considered by the Eastern Cree to be their aboriginal form of art. It has now largely disappeared and what is left is debased in character. It was used for all purposes, religious, utilitarian, and decorative.

No hair or quill embroidery was obtained or seen by the writer, and the natives claim that the porcupine is too rare in their country to furnish quills for the purpose. It seems probable, however, that dyed hair work preceded the modern silk embroidery on moccasins, pouches, and other utensils. Beadwork is said to have been unknown in pre-European days.

The old painted designs of religious import included those on the skins and skulls of bears, and the skins of other animals, on the inner surface of skin garments, and on the faces of the natives themselves. Of the former, all the designs were geometric, generally consisting of lines or bars, and dots painted in red. The symbolism of this painting is difficult or impossible to obtain. A frequent motif of admittedly esoteric meaning is a rectangular cross, the two perpendicular bars being represented in each case by five dots (Fig. 35a). This design occurs on the skins of animals, where it is placed

with the idea of propitiating the animal's spirit, and as a decorative border on skin tents, in conjunction with other figures, among them solid rectangular crosses. We have also observed dot figures similar to the sacred crosses painted on shaman's drums. The paintings on the inner surface of the skin represents the animal from which it was taken. Red daubs outline the eyes of the animal when the skin of its head is used as a hood. These markings symbolize that the skin is animate and able to imbue the owner

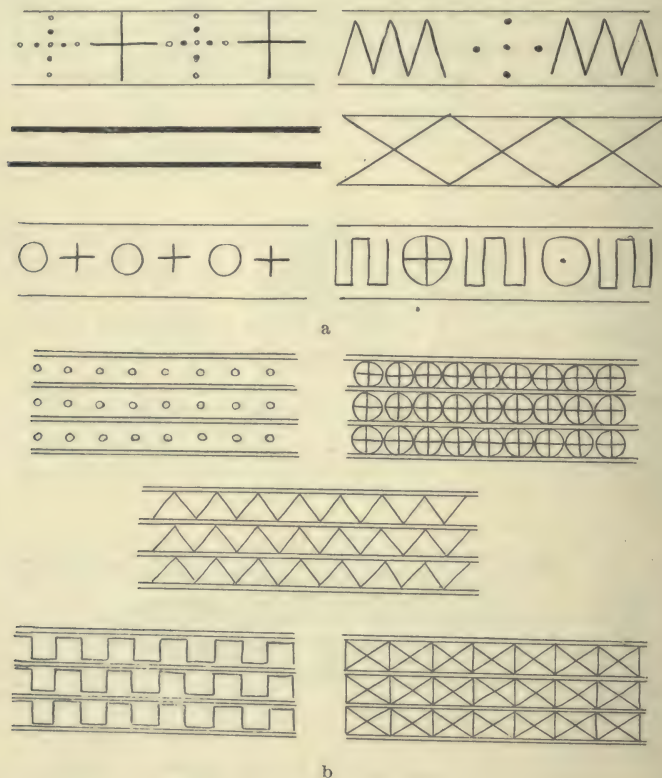


Fig. 35. A Series of painted Designs.

with the special powers of the particular animal from which it was stripped, such as speed, endurance, or strength.

Facial paintings were realistic representing the animal, or a portion of the animal upon which the wearer mainly depended for food. The idea is to propitiate the spirits of the game and thus insure future abundance of the food supply.

The second use of painting is realistic and economic, and consists of life

forms designed as property marks on tents. The figures represent the owner in pursuit of the animal upon which he chiefly depends for food, and may also have a slight religious meaning. In the old days, it was also customary to paint animals' heads on the bows of birchbark canoes, perhaps for the same purpose.

The third and last use is entirely ornamental and decorative, as shown by the border designs on tents and skin clothing. As many designs as could be obtained are given in Fig. 35b. By preference, all painting is done in red (now vermillion) but when there was a lack of pigment, or to vary the monotony, black, and occasionally blue, green, and yellow were used.¹

The painting on the tents consisted of a single decorative border about the bottom, surmounted by a figure of the owner in pursuit of the kind of game upon which he most largely subsisted. On leather coats there were often placed from one to three decorative borders about the skirts with a single row up the front. There were double rows around the cuffs and on the sleeves (Fig. 4); one at the wrist, one just below and one just above the elbow, and one at the shoulder. The lower border is also much more ornate than those described to the writer. However, as has been stated, the art of the Eastern Cree is now degenerated, and such coats and tents are obsolete, so that doubtless many features which once existed are now forgotten. According to Dr. Speck, the Penobscot make similar beaded designs which have a protective significance and conventionally represent herb medicines.

In the southeastern part of their territory, at least, the Cree employ decorated birchbark for various utensils. A single specimen obtained by the writer from the Mistassini voyageurs, was a carrying basket made of birchbark, on which, as is here shown, are certain figures which appear to be conventionalized life forms, perhaps plants (Fig. 27). The designs, in dark brown or black on a light background, are made by scraping the inner surface of fresh bark, the part scraped becoming white, while the untouched places remain dark. This is said to be a common Montagnais form of decoration and as the only specimen obtained came from a region frequented by them, it may perhaps be due to their influence. Incised decorations appear upon the bases of stone pipes.

Beaded shoulder bands, or bandoliers, and side pouches for powder, shot, percussion caps, etc., are used sparingly by the Eastern Cree, who claim them to be very modern in idea and art. The designs are usually flower patterns like those seen on moccasins. They are considered "lucky in hunting", and the Indians dislike to part with them.

¹ Red dyes were made from roots, the names of which were not obtained. Yellow or orange was obtained from the willow. Dark purple was secured by boiling willow roots and bark together.

Strings or tassels of beads may be seen on many objects where they are generally placed for decorative purposes. An old pair of woman's cloth leggings (Fig. 5) bears beaded designs of a more primitive character resembling those painted on Naskapi skin garments.

In conclusion, it may be said that the old art of the Eastern Cree is realistic and geometric. In the latter case angular forms prevail, circular designs being rare except on clothing and bark vessels. The antiquity of the flower designs seen on moccasins, pouches and the like, is disclaimed by the Cree. Indeed, some specimens may be found that have realistic representations of plants and flowers not found in the New World, as for example, the shamrock, of which the Indians have learned from Irish missionaries. A number of examples of these figures in silk and beadwork, were collected. The Cree claim that moccasins were always plain in the old days. This statement is borne out in every particular by their neighbors, the Northern Saulteaux.

In regard to the bead and silkwork flower designs (the latter, by the way, greatly outnumber the former), the Cree claim these forms to be entirely of recent acquisition, and that they never used caribou, moose, deer, or horse hair, for embroidery, but on the other hand, the manager for the Hudson's Bay Company at Moose Factory stated that the company sold great quantities of dyed horse hair to the Indians for decorative purposes before they could obtain cheap colored silks.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

At all Posts visited by the writer, save at Fort Albany, the Cree have no recollection of a clan organization, and believe that there never was one among them. The general social unit seems to have been the patriarchal family. The clans once found among the Albany Cree, may have been derived from the Northern Saulteaux. The Albany natives remember the following totems, but there were many others which they could not recall: moose, caribou, fish, sucker, sturgeon, loon, and Hell-diver. The whale and seal were never known. Some of the old men are of the opinion that in former times young men occasionally dreamed the clan to which they were to belong, as well as their personal guardians. Descent was in the father's line and there were no marriage restrictions.

Owing to the scarcity of food, permanent village communities could not exist, as the Eastern Cree are obliged to scatter through the forest, a family

here and a family there, often many miles apart. Usually, a man hunted with his sons and their families, but when these grew large, they separated. Formerly, rendezvous were made at some central point every spring for the purpose of reuniting. During the two or three weeks of their duration, the few ceremonies and councils of these people were held, and the mitéo, or prophet, prophesied the events of the coming year before the assemblage. At this time the feasting or greeting dance was held.

Now, the Cree meet at the Posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, bringing in the winter's hunt of furs to trade for the necessities of the following season. They spend from two to four weeks at the Posts and then return to their scattered hunting grounds.

At Moose Factory and other Posts comparatively near civilization, a nominal chief is now appointed by the Canadian Government to receive treaty moneys and to represent the Indians. Formerly, the chief was the best warrior and most trustworthy man. He was not elected or appointed, but acquired his office by tacit consent at the death of the former incumbent. He was not necessarily a relative of the dead man. A young man rarely attained office, owing to the requirements. The orders of the chief had to be obeyed, especially in time of war, but revolts and civil wars, especially where two men of ability were located in the same district, were not uncommon. If one chief was conquered, then the opposition carried the day.

Marriage. With reference to marriage customs, Mackenzie remarks: "When a young man marries, he immediately goes to live with the father and mother of his wife, who treat him, nevertheless, as a perfect stranger, till after the birth of his first child; he then attaches himself more to them than his own parents; and his wife no longer gives him any other denomination than that of the father of her child."¹

According to the writer's informants, marriages were arranged by the older people, the parents of the young folks in question. The girl was brought to the young man's house by her father or mother. The young people themselves had very little choice about the matter, as whatever the parents considered a suitable match was made without consulting them. Polygamy was once common but has now been given up. The number of wives varied from four to five. The first wife had the most authority. A man marrying the eldest of a group of sisters, usually if he married again, took the younger sisters as they became old enough, it being considered that the sisters were much less apt to quarrel among themselves than wives from various families. Mackenzie is responsible for the statement that, "When a man loses his wife, it is considered as a duty to marry her sister, if she has one; or he may, if he pleases, have them both at the same time."²

¹ Mackenzie, 68.

² Mackenzie, 67.

According to our data, girls married at about fifteen years of age; men when they became good hunters. A young man often took an elderly woman as she had had experience and was better able to manage his affairs. Small presents were made to the bride's parents. At present, the unmarried girls are lax in virtue. Married women, however, are quite faithful to their vows. This is an old fault, for even in his day Mackenzie says: —

"It does not appear, that chastity is considered by them as a virtue; or that fidelity is believed to be essential to the happiness of wedded life. Though it sometimes happens that the infidelity of a wife is punished by the husband with the loss of her hair, nose, and perhaps life; such severity proceeds from its having been practised without his permission: for a temporary interchange of wives is not uncommon; and the offer of their persons is considered as a necessary part of the hospitality due to strangers."¹

Carver says: —

"I observed that this people still continued a custom, that appeared to have been universal before any of them became acquainted with the manners of the Europeans, that of complimenting strangers with the company of their wives; and this is not only practised by the lower ranks, but by the chiefs themselves, who esteem it the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger."²

The education of children receives no small attention, though we did not learn that much care is now devoted to them. According to Mackenzie: — "To their children they are indulgent to a fault. The father, though he assumes no command over them, is ever anxious to instruct them in all the preparatory qualifications for war and hunting; while the mother is equally attentive to her daughters in teaching them every thing that is considered as necessary to their character and situation. It does not appear that the husband makes any distinction between the children of his wife, though they may be the off-spring of different fathers. Illegitimacy is only attached to those who are born before their mothers have cohabited with any man by the title of husband."³

In regard to the division of labor, there seem to be no generally regarded rules, for men nowadays perform almost any tasks as well as women, regardless of their nature. At an earlier date we read: —

"The profession of the men is war and hunting, and the more active scene of their duty is the field of battle, and the chase in the woods. They also spear fish, but the management of the nets is left to the women. The females of this nation are in the same subordinate state with those of all other savage tribes; but the severity of their labour is much diminished by their situation on the banks of lakes

¹ Mackenzie, 67.

² Carver, 81.

³ Mackenzie, 67.

and rivers, where they employ canoes. In the winter, when the waters are frozen, they make their journies, which are never of any great length, with sledges drawn by dogs. They are, at the same time subject to every kind of domestic drudgery: they dress the leather, make the clothes and shoes, weave the nets, collect wood, erect the tents, fetch water, and perform every culinary service; so that when the duties of maternal care are added, it will appear that the life of these women is an uninterrupted succession of toil and pain. This, indeed, is the sense they entertain of their own situation; and, under the influence of that sentiment, they are sometimes known to destroy their female children, to save them from the miseries which they themselves have suffered. They also have a ready way, by the use of certain simples, of procuring abortions, which they sometimes practise, from their hatred of the father, or to save themselves the trouble which children occasion: and, as I have been credibly informed, this unnatural act is repeated without any injury to the health of the women who perpetrate it.”¹

RELIGION.

Owing to the universal acceptance of the Christian faith as inculcated by missionaries from the Church of England for many decades, and at Fort Albany and westward by the Roman Catholic fathers, the Eastern Cree have either almost entirely given up their ancient religion, or have so thickly veneered it with Christianity that it is well nigh impossible to obtain any information in regard to their old beliefs. Certain it is that they were, as is so universal in North America, polytheistic, and that the idea of a single “great spirit,” (Kitche-manitou) is entirely a European importation; and none are more positive of this than the Cree themselves.

The economic conditions of their country are so hard, and so much depends on the fortunes of the chase, that almost the whole life of these people is spent in sacrifices propitiating the souls of animals upon which they subsist in order to secure more certainly the future food supply, and in appealing to the great powers of nature for aid in the struggle for existence.

The winds are supposed to be four brothers, the eldest and most powerful of whom is the north wind (Kiwétinung-nizéo). It is he who sends the cold and has, as well, the power and ability to punish evil doers. If in thawing weather a north wind is desired, a snow man is made and set up on the ice, facing the north, or a “witch’s broom” (a diseased growth appearing on coniferous trees) is sometimes set upon the ice. On the other hand, to turn the wind from the north, a stone is wet by spitting upon it, then a bit of charcoal placed on the saliva, and struck with another stone

¹ Mackenzie, 63.

to cause a loud report. Next to the north wind in importance is Nikapihun-nizéo, the west wind. He is a favorable person, good and generous to mankind. This is the best hunting wind. Wapânung-nizéo, the east wind, is a stingy fellow, he starves the people, and will give them nothing to eat. Shawânung-nizéo, the south wind, gives food in summer, and has charge of it. He gives the berries.

Hunters and others to whom the wind is of importance use a bull roarer to bring it. They sit up all night manipulating this instrument. Its connection with the wind probably lies in its noise, which resembles the rush of the wind. Three kinds of bull roarers were used. The first is made of a bone fastened to two hand grips of cedar string about a foot long, on either side, or a many-pointed round serrated wooden block doubly perforated and attached to thongs in a similar manner. Again, a rectangular wooden block, is used in the same manner. These forms are all worked by revolving the central piece on itself which winds and unwraps the sinew strings. When these are wound up, they are stretched and relaxed alternately, causing the central piece to revolve on itself with great rapidity, making a loud buzzing or humming noise. Instruments of this kind are usually spoken of as buzzers by ethnologists. Another is lanceolate and serrated. It is attached by a perforation in a perforation in the rounded end to a cord fastened to a hand grip. It is manipulated by taking the hand grip in one hand and swinging around the head by the cord. These implements are rarely used as toys.

To bring snow, a rabbit (hare) skin is thrown into the fire and singed. The reason for this is that the rabbit's skin is as white as the snow in which he lives in winter, and which he loves when deep. He is the winter's friend, and if his hair is burned, the winter is offended and angry. To bring rain a roasting spit that is greasy and covered with old flesh is picked clean with the teeth. This action of the teeth and saliva in cleaning the stick symbolizes the rain, which washes the roasting spit clean.

Shamanism. The Eastern Cree had an esoteric medicine society resembling to some extent the Ojibway midéwin. In fact, it goes by the same name among the Albany Cree who are in contact with the Saulteaux. It was composed of but two degrees among the Labrador and Eastmain bands. Initiatory ceremonies from the lower to the higher are held. There were formerly four degrees among the Moose and Albany Cree but the society no longer exists as an organized body and the degrees are obsolete. Admission was through dreams, and progress from the lower to the higher degree was made by visions in which the secrets of the higher office are revealed to the novice. The process to be followed in order for a youth to gain admission into the midéwin, was as follows:—

The young man, when he reached the proper age for him to take up the duties of manhood, would repair to a secluded spot in the forest and there wait and fast night and day for a week or ten days, according to his powers of endurance. During this time, the supplicant prayed and waited for supernatural dreams or visions in which he expected his future would be expounded to him. While waiting for these dreams, he stayed and slept upon a scaffold built on poles and about ten or twelve feet high.

The ordinary dreams vouchsafed to a youth, concerned his guardian spirit, usually some animal, and informed him through this medium of what things he was to do, what tasks he must perform, what charms or fetishes he must keep about him in order to be successful in his vocation, generally that of a hunter. Sometimes, on the contrary, the dreams were of a different character, and the young man had visions of great power and strength bestowed from supernatural sources which led him to understand that he was destined to be a shaman. More rarely, a man sleeping in his tent at night in the ordinary way, received supernatural revelations of power and his personal ability in that direction.

When a man had unexpectedly had his dream by sleeping in the ordinary way in the lodge, he at once repaired to a tree leaning over the river and built a stage over the water. There he slept for seven days. If he was a young man, he told his father to come and see him at the end of that time and bring him food. Sometimes the father would forget to arrive at the proper time with food and in such cases the young man was invariably turned into a sturgeon. If power was revealed to a youth in his dreams, he went to a shaman of his acquaintance, or to his father, if his father was a member of the *midéwin*, and made this fact known. He was then instructed by this member and as a compensation he was obliged to give practically everything he had. Young men fasting on the scaffold sometimes overtaxed themselves by fasting too long, and there are stories concerning the sad fate of youths who had over-estimated their strength and who died or were turned into various animals, as in the case of the Sauk and Fox.¹

Among the Moose Cree, when a young man was on his scaffold, waiting for visions he could come down every day and go home, although this was not done by those of Fort Albany. He, however, fasted and never spoke to anyone for fear the spirits would be driven away and forsake him.

In the fall of the year, the final ceremonies were held in which the young man was initiated to the lowest degree of the *midéwin*. Unlike those of the Central Algonkin, these ceremonies were not open to the public view, nor was there anyone present except the old shaman and possibly a few other

¹ Jones. (a), 183-186.

members of the society. The ceremonies opened with the singing of songs, after which the shaman took his medicine bag which is usually made of otterskin, the otter being considered the most powerful of the medicine animals, and held it in front of him. Then he began to go about the lodge holding the otter in front of him with both hands. At every step, the otter-skin, which was held head up at about the height of the chest was thrust forward. When the shaman approached the novice it was pushed directly at the young man until its nose touched him, and as it did so it made a noise. The novice immediately fell down and lay unconscious. During this time, the medicine power of the otter was passed into his body. When at length, he came to, the shaman inquired of him if he understood what the otter had said. The novice invariably replied, "No." The shaman answered, "I will tell you what the otter said to you. Death is on you, but you will be alive again." When the young man had fully recovered he knew as much as could possibly be taught to him by any human being, because of the power of the otter which had been passed into his body while he lay unconscious.

The youth could never accomplish anything more than was revealed to him in his dreams, or later by his instructors in the *midéwin*. Before being initiated, he generally tried to see if he could do all the things revealed to him in his vision. Sometimes the dreams were of feats greater than he was able to accomplish, but in most cases he could do everything that had been promised him. No one ever told what had been revealed during these dreams for fear his power would be revoked by the spirits. In some cases, the *midéwin* ceremony was held by a shaman who instructed his son, who had had a medicine dream. In this case, no one was present at the ceremony but the shaman and his son. The office was not hereditary.

Two degrees of the *midéwin* were known. Among the Eastmain and Labrador Cree the first and lowest was called the *Kwosapätcikéwin*. A member of this division was able to procure interviews with the spirits for himself and others. Members of either order are generally known to the whites in this region as "conjurers," and "mitéo," which now seems to be the general native term for a shaman of any class.

A member of the first division wishing to attain the second and higher degree, lived and fasted by himself while trying for power. During this period, voices spoke to him, and he saw visions. He dared not tell of these at home, however, for fear the spirits who had spoken to him would withdraw their aid. In asking for power a "conjurer" always knelt with his head bent to the ground.

When the secrets of the second order had been revealed the member became a *mitéo* (wizard) and had all the powers of the *Kwosapätcikéwin*

with the additional power to prophesy and to kill his enemies by magic. A mitéo could also cross rivers or streams without a canoe, for the spirits transported him bodily.

In addition to the fall ceremony, the midéwin was sometimes held in the spring, as soon as the snow was soft. It was never held in the autumn before the first fall of snow. When a young man had entered the lowest of the four degrees, the only way in which he could rise was by having further dreams as to his power, which was always entirely restricted by them. He kept the skins of such animals as had appeared in his first dreams and promised to be protectors to help him. A man might see a great many animals and keep all their skins and could send any one of these animals to destroy his enemy. Snakes, salamanders, mink and otter, were well known personal guardians.

The songs used in the various midéwin ceremonies were kept on rolls of birchbark of different sizes. The ideas were expressed by means of geometric signs drawn or scratched upon the bark, closely resembling those kept by the Ojibway except that they were less realistic. The contents of these rolls were committed to memory by the novice.

In Petitot, under the title, "Mitéwi (the Labour), Biennial medicine ceremony of the Crees,"¹ we find the following reference to a ceremony which is probably more public and elaborate than those described to us, and which is quoted in full:—

"At the approach of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, the oldest and most powerful jugglers, the Sokaskew convoke all the Crees in the neighborhood to the ceremony of the Mitéwi, sending by messengers, little presents of tobacco.

If the tobacco is accepted by a Cree, he renders himself liable by this act to the equivalent of a promise to be present at the Mitéwi, but it is permissible for any one to refuse the tobacco. Nevertheless, very few of the people refuse it for fear of arousing the ire of the magicians.

'He will change us into a bear or a horse,' think they, 'they can kill us at a distance or send us who can tell what sickness.'

For this reason few of the Crees are brave enough to refuse.

When all of the Crees are gathered at a place designated by the delegates, they build an oblong and conical house or shed, with an opening at each end. This is the Mitéwi tent.

The Cree, nude, painted, and prepared as if for war, enter the Mitéwi lodge, and place themselves in along the length of the walls, which are elevated on stakes to the height of a support. The middle of the lodge is left vacant for the conjurers.

The medicine men and magicians now enter, Maskikiy-Iyiniwok (magic-men) lead by the grand priest or Sokaskew. They carry in their hands the skin of the animal which is their totem (fetish, nagwal, or manito) because it is revealed to them in a dream that it is to be their guardian and good spirit.

These skins belong to all kinds of animals, snakes, badgers, wolves, mink, coyotes,

¹ Petitot, 477.

buffalo, foxes, lynx, mice, etc. Each skin is embellished with ornaments according to Indian taste, and placed on the earth in front of its fortunate possessor.

This being done, they carry into the council lodge all the medicinal roots and herbs which have been plucked and culled by the medicine men during the heart of the summer. These are arranged in a single line in order that each conjuror may infuse into them the curative or malevolent virtues possessed by his totem.

This is, properly speaking the commencement of the Mitéwi or the Judgment of the Roots. This judgment is composed of first, the collection of medicine powers, and second, awarding this or that root according to the wish of the conjurors. In the first case, each magician holding his totem or manitou, the spirit of which haunts him, in his hand makes the rounds of the roots chanting and placing on them the head of the animal to the accompaniment of contortions and grimaces.

Each one having made three rounds of the roots, it is the part of the grand priest to say such a root has received such a curative power, and such another root such another virtue. Some are declared good for the cramps and others for the megrims, such a one is only good for the feet, and another for the head, and another for the body. Such a root is to be used alone, and such another with one or two others.

The time, the manner and the method for using are also determined by the medicine men and what of their powers they can communicate to their totem or animal-god.

The judgment of the doctors being terminated, they proceed to the initiation of neophytes. No Cree not yet initiated may enter the mysteries of the Mitéwi. The initiation is given for payment and carries with it the obligations of fidelity to the laws of magic.

The novices having been brought into the lodge, they are passed in review, by all the jugglers, to the accompaniment of chants, grimaces, and insufflations and passes by means of the powerful totems. Each medicine man points towards him the head of his genie, and cries 'Wi! wi!' all of a sudden, with one common accord they direct them together on the same novice whom they have designated in advance, crying 'Wew!'

This having been done, they are seen to point the invisible arrows of their powerful manitous at the stomach of the novice. Immediately the novice falls to the earth without movement, and they cry, 'He is dead!' Sometimes it happens that the novice does not perceive that he has been pointed out by the unanimous consent of the magicians. Then his companions inform him, telling him, 'You have been shot,' and he immediately drops as if dead.

The initiate being dead, the problem is to resuscitate him. This is the great miracle of magic of the science of initiation. The juggler approaches the candidate, touches him and makes magnetic passes with his hands and with his totem and sacred roots. Then come the songs, struck up with a trembling voice, a voice full of emotion and uncertainty, terminating with bellows. They breathe towards the heart of the dead man in order to recall him to life.

Then little by little one sees life reappear in the body of the candidate. The invocations are redoubled, the medicine men press their mouths to the body of the patient, cup him and draw from the blood, worms, pebbles, nails and other objects. In short, life is returning, the dead man yawns, stretches, opens his eyes, which he casts with a haggard look over the crowd as if he were astonished and stupified at returning to life. Suddenly he cries, 'Why have you called me back to this low world? Why have you taken me away from the pleasures of the Earth of Spirits and of the celestial hunt?'

'What have you seen, oh brother, what have you seen?' the people around him cry. Then everyone hastens to hear his vision.

'Ah, my brethren,' said one of the initiates in my presence, 'how can mortal lips narrate what I have seen? I have seen, yes, I have seen the Great Spirit myself. I entered his tent, a magnificent mansion full of servants and excellent things. As soon as he saw me, he cried, 'Go away, I do not want you here you ragged beggar.' 'No,' I answered him, I shall not depart. 'Go away, I tell you,' cried the Great Manitou, 'return to the earth which you have left before your time and without my command.' 'No,' I replied again, 'it is well to stay here, and here I shall remain.' 'Oh, you don't want to go away,' he cried, 'well you will see.' Saying this he loosened his dogs at me, his terrible dogs. What dogs, my friends! Animals as large as a pine tree and armed with long sharp teeth like the big knives of the Yankees of the south. Then when I saw the dogs of Kitchi-Manito I betook myself to flight. This is how I came back to earth.'

After the initiate has spoken, he returns to the ranks of the old men, who congratulate him and crowd about him. After the judgment of the roots and the initiation, the sacrifice takes place.

White dogs are prepared, bled, skinned and cut into pieces. With their blood are tied the four posts supporting the great lodge of the Mitéwi and the rest is spread on the ground around this lodge. The white dog or dogs are then roasted and quartered without breaking a single one of their bones, about which they are very careful. Then the entire assemblage satisfies their hunger in honor of the Great Spirit. Then there follow chants, dances, and orgies until the morning of the next day. This ceremony is repeated twice as I have already said, in the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.¹

While Petitot does not definitely state in what locality his observations were made, beyond saying that they were made on the lower Saskatchewan, which would bring them within the Woodlands, from his description it appears that the region in question was one where Ojibway influence was more strongly in evidence than where the writer has made his observations. The farther we recede from the Ojibway boundaries, especially to the East the midéwin seems to lose strength and importance in Cree territory. It may even have been wanting among the Cree before they began their westward migrations and came in contact with the Ojibway. The midéwin has long fallen into disuse and the notes here presented represent all that can be obtained at present, the mere vague and fragmentary memories of the oldest men.

The Cree of Fort Albany admit that their midéwin was closely related to that of the Ojibway and that they exchanged medicine and secrets with them. The Ojibway frequently came and lived among the Cree, fasting and dreaming in order that they might join the Cree branch of the midéwin. The Cree in turn went through the same ceremony with the Ojibway.

¹ Petitot, 477-483.

A few people had malevolent powers revealed to them during their dreams and such were able to change themselves into any animals at will.

Carver, referring to the Cree in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg, describes the following method employed by a shaman to look into the future and foretell the arrival of a party of traders who were anxiously awaited.

"The following evening was fixed upon for this spiritual conference. When every thing had been properly prepared, the king came to me and led me to a capacious tent, the covering of which was drawn up, so as to render what was transacting within visible to those who stood without. We found the tent surrounded by a great number of the Indians, but we readily gained admission, and seated ourselves on skins laid on the ground for the purpose.

In the centre I observed that there was a place of an oblong shape, which was composed of stakes stuck in the ground with intervals between, so as to form a kind of chest or coffin, large enough to contain the body of a man. These were of middle size, and placed at such a distance from each other, that whatever lay within them was readily to be discerned. The tent was perfectly illuminated by a great number of torches made of splinters cut from the pine or birch tree, which the Indians held in their hands.

In a few minutes the priest entered; when an amazing large elk's skin being spread on the ground just at my feet, he laid himself down upon it, after having stript himself of every garment except that which he wore close about his middle. Being now prostrate on his back, he first laid hold of one side of the skin, and folded it over him, and then the other; leaving only his head uncovered. This was no sooner done, than two of the young men who stood by, took about forty yards of strong cord, made also of an elk's hide, and rolled tight round his body, so that he was completely swathed within the skin. Being thus bound up like an Egyptian Mummy, one took him by the heels, and the other by the head, and lifted him over the pales into the inclosure. I could also now discern him as plain as I had hitherto done, and I took care not to turn my eyes a moment from the object before me, that I might the more readily detect the artifice; for such I doubted not but that it would turn out to be.

The priest had not lain in this situation more than a few seconds, when he began to mutter. This he continued to do for some time, and then by degrees grew louder and louder, till at length he spoke articulately; however what he uttered was in such a mixed jargon of the Chipéwaw, Ottawaw, and Killistinoe languages, that I could understand but very little of it. Having continued in this tone for a considerable while, he at last exerted his voice to its utmost pitch, sometimes raving and sometimes praying, till he had worked himself into such an agitation, that he foamed at his mouth.

After having remained near three quarters of an hour in the place, and continued his vociferation with unabated vigor, he seemed to be quite exhausted, and remained speechless. But in an instant he sprung upon his feet, notwithstanding at the time he was put in, it appeared impossible for him to move either his legs or arms, and shaking off his covering, as quick as if the bands with which it had been bound were burned asunder, he began to address those who stood around, in a firm and audible voice. 'My Brothers,' said he, 'the Great Spirit has deigned to hold a Talk with his servant at my earnest request. He has not, indeed, told me when the persons

we expect will be here, but tomorrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the people in that will inform us when the traders will come.' Having said this, he stepped out of the inclosure, and after he had put on his robes, dismissed the assembly."¹

"Evil conjuring" is performed by the mitéo against his rivals or enemies. A dream informs him what course to take. Sometimes a bird or animal is captured and imbued with malevolent power. It is sent to the intended victim and strikes or falls upon him, killing him. If however, his power is stronger than that of the sender, he sometimes recovers, and men have even been known to send back the deadly messengers of their enemies with fatal effect.

Sometimes a mitéo wishing to kill a rival, lies on his back, apparently dead, but in reality in a trance. While in this condition his spirit leaves him and travels the distance separating him from his intended victim and kills him by aid of magic. If, however, as has been known to happen, the other man's power is the greater, the spirit of the mitéo may be defeated and killed. In such an instance the conjuror never recovers from his trance. Sometimes noted rival mitéos will build conjuring houses, and proceed to battle with each other, the man whose influence with the spirits is the stronger or who has the most mysterious power, never fails to vanquish the other.

Conjuring is carried on for hunting, war-like purposes, love-making, and to see into the future for the purpose of prophesying. "The influence of the conjuror was much greater than that of the chief, and evilly disposed conjurors often held an entire community in terror, no one daring to refuse their demands.

To secure success in hunting, conjuring is carried on in the following manner:—The conjuror retires to a secluded spot, and there builds a dome-shaped "conjuring house" (p. 14). The Indian hunters gather at least twenty-five feet away from the spot forming a circle around the lodge through which no one is allowed to pass. The conjuror enters and commences to sing in order to invoke the spirits. The tent shakes violently, the wind blows, and the voices of the spirits are heard from the top of the house and the cries of birds and beasts are plainly audible.

The conjuror is heard to ask the spirits concerning the success of the hunt, and their voices reply from the top of the lodge. The result of the hunt always depends on the answers given. The drum is never used in a conjuring house.

A white man residing at Eastmain River Fort informed the writer that

¹ Carver, 78.

on one occasion, wishing to see just how the shaking of the lodge and the other mystical performances were accomplished, suddenly broke through the Indian lines, and running to the tent, lifted up a flap and there found the conjuror, his feet braced against one side of the tent, off the ground, with his hands firmly grasping the other side of the structure, shaking it violently and imitating the calls of the animals and the spirit voices.

In conjuring for a victory in war, a dance, known as the "conjuror's dance," was given. Conjuring is also done for the purpose of gaining mastery over the other sex, either individually or in general. Love charms or medicines are also used for this purpose. These, however, are personal dream revelations. Some magic object is sometimes held in the hand, and brought into contact with the person of the woman desired, who cannot resist the holder.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Rennison, the Church of England missionary at Moose Factory informed the writer of a certain famous little greenish stone held by some of the Indians he had known. It had been in one family for a long time, and had a very powerful influence over women. If carried by a young man any girl to whom he stopped to talk would find him irresistible through its influence.

Hunting Customs. As the Cree live in constant fear of starvation, and of the unseen forces of nature, their daily life is one long round of sacrifice. Tobacco is always thrown in the fire before a feast, to propitiate the spirits in general, and when reaching a rapid the Cree voyageurs invariably cast tobacco into it to conciliate the resident manitou or demon, half woman and half fish.

To the Eastern Cree mind every animal has a spirit whose favor must be acquired or it will exert its influence to prevent its species from being taken by Indian hunters.¹ On this account the bones of the beaver are carefully cleaned and cast into the running water whence they came in order that the dogs may not get them. The heads of geese and ducks, the teeth of moose and caribou, and the claws and chins of the bear are saved. They form not only an offering to the spirit of the animal from which they were taken, but serve as talismen for the owners, and trophies or tallies of the chase as well. The skin of every animal taken is decorated with vermilion stripes and dots, never omitting the mystic series of five dots, the secret meaning of which could not be obtained (Fig. 35). Like many other North American tribes, the Eastern Cree consider that of all animals, the most powerful and important is the bear, concerning whom the following series of customs has originated.

¹ According to Dr. F. G. Speck, the Micmac, Montagnais, and Naskapi still believe animals will be reborn if the proper taboos are observed. This is no doubt also the case with the Cree.

If a hunter, while in the forest, comes upon a bear and wishes to slay him, he first approaches and apologizes, explaining that nothing but lack of food drives him to kill it, and begging that the bear will not be offended at him, nor permit the spirits of other bears to be angry. On killing the bear, he cuts off the middle toe and claw of the right fore foot and returns with it to his camp. When he arrives he first smokes for some time, saying nothing of what he has done, but meanwhile mentally deciding whom he shall ask to take charge of, bring in, and butcher the carcass. Usually, if he is a married man, the person chosen is the wife of the hunter. When the proper time, perhaps an hour, has elapsed, he gives the announcing claw to the person whom he has picked out, and states where the bear may be found. The recipient of the claw understands what is required, and, asking no further questions, takes a companion, goes out, and brings in the carcass. The announcing claw is wrapped in cloth, beaded, or painted, or both, and kept as a memento of the occasion (Fig. 36).



Fig. 36 (50-7034). A bear's claw Trophy.

In case two or more men kill a bear, it is laid out on its back in their canoe, and carefully covered. When the hunters approach their camp or Post, the burden is seen from afar, and all the Indians crowd the river bank with cries of congratulation. When the canoe grates on the beach, it is at once surrounded by the small boys, who run down and draw back the blanket or covering enough to expose the bear's head, or at least, its teeth. It is then carried up and laid out, like a man, in front of its slayer's wigwam. After the bear has been laid out, and tobacco placed on its teeth or in his mouth, the hunter and the chief men present smoke over it.

Nowadays when the bear is brought in, it is laid out upon a new blanket purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company for the occasion. While the ceremony is going on, if it must be mentioned, the bear must be called *Kaw'pātē m'tcēm* (black food). Pointing with the finger at the carcass during this ceremony is strictly tabooed.

After the hunter and chief men have smoked, the bear is butchered, and the flesh distributed to all the camp. Certain parts of the bear's flesh are at once burnt ("given to its spirit to eat"), including a small piece of its heart. The rest of the heart is at once eaten by the slayer, in order that he may acquire the cunning and courage of his victim.

Women are not allowed to eat of the bear's head or paws, nor men of his hump. The bones are never given away, unless the bear's flesh is served as a feast in the lodge of the slayer. In any event, they are carefully cleansed, saved, and hung up, or placed on a scaffold where the dogs cannot

reach them. If wild animals, other than dogs, reach and devour them, no harm is done.

The skull of the bear is cleaned, and the brains removed through an opening made by enlarging the foramen magnum. It is dried, and painted with vermilion (Fig. 37), and is placed in a safe place (now generally on a

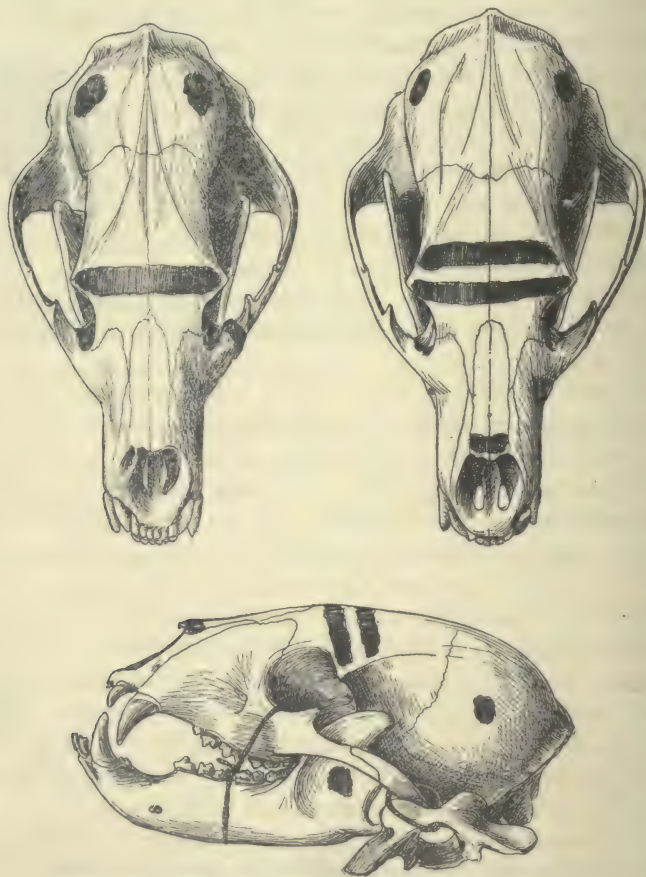


Fig. 37 (50-7028). Bears' Skulls with Ceremonial Markings.

shelf in the Hudson's Bay Company's store, if the Indians are at a Post) and kept from three to six months, when it is secretly taken by its owners and hung up on a tree in the forest.

Formerly, the Cree of Moose Fort, instead of smoking over the carcass of a dead bear, like those of the Eastmain, went through the following ceremony:—

^{No 2} The head of the bear was first cut off and cooked, after which the men and boys of the camp sat down in a circle about it. A large stone pipe was laid beside the head and a plug of tobacco placed upon it. Then the man who had killed the bear arose from his place in the circle and filled the pipe with the tobacco, after which it was lighted and passed about the circle from left to right, the slayer smoking first. Each person had the alternative of smoking the pipe for several moments or merely taking a single puff before passing it on. After this, the bear's head was passed about and everyone strove to bite out a piece of its flesh without touching it with his hands.¹ The same ceremony was sometimes also gone through after the slaying of a caribou.

³ Another bear ceremony observed by the Moose Cree was as follows:—
^{No 3} The bear's intestines were removed, slightly cooked and smoked, after the passing of the head. They were then coiled up on a plate and passed about the circle by the slayer and offered to all the men present, each of whom bit off a piece. Women were allowed to be present at this part of the ceremony but were not allowed to partake of the meat. This ceremony was quite recently observed.

^{No 4} The Cree of Rupert's House and Eastmain River Fort, taboo pointing at a bear with the finger even if it is a live bear in the woods, for if this is done, the bear would turn and run away, even if he did not see the offender, for his medicine would warn him of the approach of danger. At the feast, after the slaying of a bear, a certain amount of food is always set before each guest, who is obliged to finish it at one sitting. If, however, he cannot eat it all at once, he is privileged to leave it at the house of the giver of the feast until the next night, when he must finish it. The Moose and Albany Cree do not now observe the majority of the bear customs, nor have they for many years. Those at Albany have forgotten their significance.

^{No 5} It is permissible to speak of a bear as Muskwá (the "angry one" or "wrangler") in his absence only, unless one wishes to anger him, or as an expression of reproof. It must never be used before his carcass. If a hunter comes upon a bear in the woods, and is obliged to speak of him, he may call him Kawí'pâte mītcēm (black meat, or food) because this is the bear's proper name, and he will not be offended or frightened by it. This name may also be used before the dead body. Under the same circumstances as above, or when it is not desirable to let him know that he is being spoken of, he may be called Tcīshéák (old porcupine) because he will not

¹ The writer saw an almost identical ceremony of passing the bear's head during a midnight ceremony of the Little Waters, or Secret Medicine Society, of the Seneca Iroquois on the Cattaraugus Reserve, New York. This time a bear's head was not obtainable, and a chunk of salt pork was used.

know who is being talked about. When making fun of a bear, or joking about him, he may be called *Wakiush* (crooked tail). This name must never be used before the carcass, but *Tukwaiâken* (short tail) may be used. *PisEsu* or *Pisistciu* (resembling a cat, or lynx) is another term applied to the bear to avoid calling him by his real name. *Wakiu* may be another form of *Wakiush* and *Matsué* may be a variant of *Muskwá*. ✕

The skin of the bear is dried, but never tanned and painted. The skin of the under-lip or chin is sacred, and with a piece of bone from the tongue is saved. The bone is placed in a little pouch or bag, and fastened to the point of the chin on the inside. The skin is folded (sometimes being first painted with vermilion) and sewed together (Fig. 38). The edges of the skin and of the pouch containing the tongue bone are beaded. At Eastmain River Fort, the skin is folded, but not fastened, so that the little bag cannot be seen, as at Rupert's House. These chins serve as charms, and as tallies or hunting trophies. A string of these which was perhaps used as a necklace (Fig. 38) was collected at Eastmain River Fort. Single claws are also kept as trophies, the bony part being rejected and the horny nail saved, often a number are fitted together one inside of the other to form a ring (Fig. 39). A skinning tool of the thigh bone of a young bear, and a worked scapula, from the same animal, perhaps intended for a spoon, were obtained at Rupert's House and the writer was informed that these were kept as charms, and never used. A bear's foetus skin, obtained at the same Post was kept for the same reason.

Anciently, the Eastern Cree never used the



Fig. 38.



Fig. 39.

Fig. 38 (50-7041). A String of Bearskin Charms.
Fig. 39 (50-7031). A Ring of Bear Claws.

bow and arrow in taking the bear, as they did not consider these weapons strong enough. Bears were invariably hunted with the war club and knife, especially in winter, when their hibernating dens might be found. The hunter always endeavored to strike the bear a fatal blow on the head with his club, or approached at still closer quarters, to stab him. Dogs were used to worry the bear and the Indians affirm that when standing on his hind legs neither the polar nor black bear can turn well on the right side, making it comparatively easy for an agile man to run in closely and stab it to the heart.

Bears are supposed, as will be seen, to understand everything said to them. One man whom we saw at Eastmain River Fort in 1908 was horribly scarred and mangled by a black bear which he had attacked and wounded, but which finally set him free when he pleaded with it for mercy. A "bear dance" was formerly held but no information could be obtained (p. 40) concerning it, other than a meager description.

The carcass of the first caribou killed by any member of the band, is skinned, with the exception of the head. The breast and lower part of the throat including the tongue are cut off in one piece. The head is then singed, cut off the body, and boiled together with the flesh of the neck and throat. The slayer of the animal takes the body from the fire and puts the flesh into a new kettle, which he passes around the circle to every man and boy present. Women may not partake of the food. Each man tries to eat as much as he can.

When a caribou is killed, its death is sometimes announced by bringing in a tuft of its hair, or its right fore leg, cut off at the knee. No other ceremony accompanies this act, however. Tanned caribou skins invariably have the tail, or a tuft of hair from it left upon them; they are also painted symbolically in vermilion. Painting with esoteric meaning also occurs on the inside of the caribou skin parkas, or coats. A "deer dance" was held but no information can now be obtained concerning it.

The heads of ducks and geese are stuffed, preserved, and decorated with beads, and kept to propitiate the spirits of the birds and as charms and trophies (Fig. 40). A piece of the skin of the loon's neck is often attached to the rifle of a hunter as a luck charm. The first fish caught in the spring are burnt as an offering to the sovereign spirit or manitou of the fish.

When camping together, a band of Eastern Cree will sometimes take a pole, strip it of its bark and place it up right before the camp. From this, out of reach of the dogs, are hung the skulls of the bear, beaver, otter, and loon, to honor them, and to proclaim to the world to what animals the hunters are indebted for their lives. The whites of the James Bay region call these ceremonial, or sacrificial posts, "Indian flagpoles".

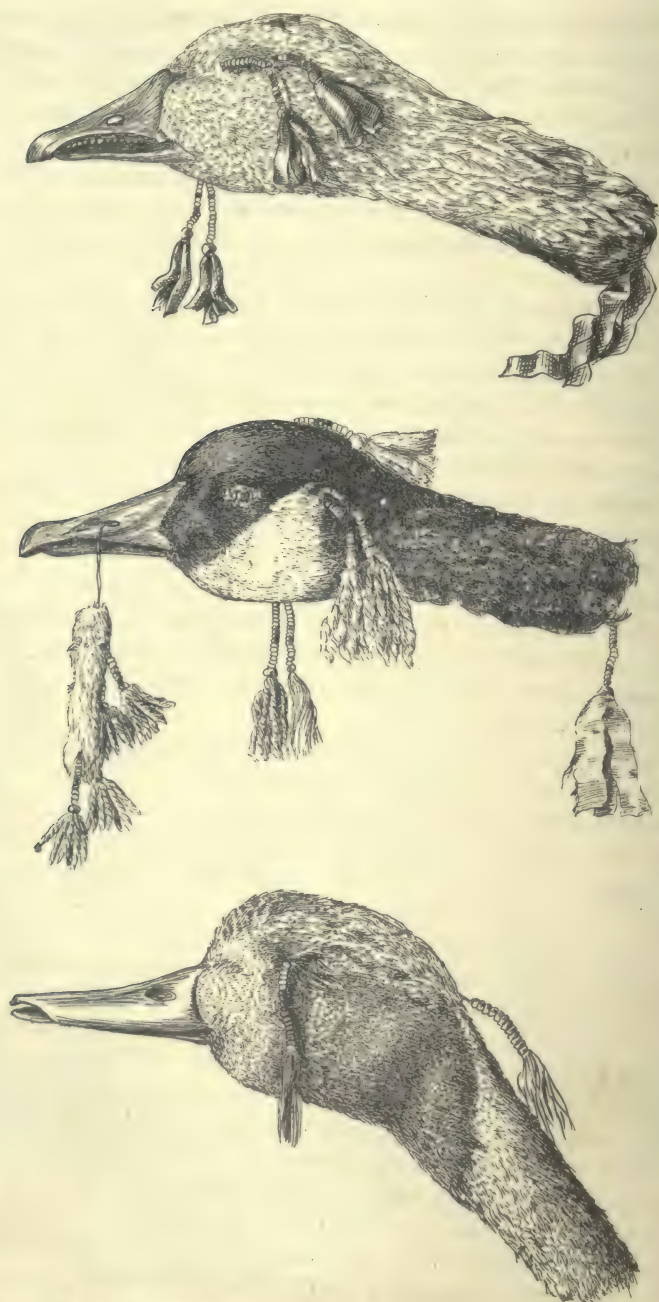


Fig. 40 (50-7039, 7038, 7058). A Series of hunting Charms.

A man desiring success in fishing or hunting water animals sometimes builds a scaffold of poles, and after he has fasted for a while he ascends the scaffold at night, praying and fasting until he has a dream in which he may be told how to take the various denizens of the water. In the case of hunting-medicine an evil spirit appears and gives the hunter a magic draught which imbues him with the power to attract the beasts to his traps. These two usages were obtained among the Cree of Moose Factory and may also be found among the Rupert's House Indians, although they were not heard of there by the writer. If a hunter dreams of seeing or killing any animal, when he wakes up he at once sings a song, for luck, concerning his dream and about the animal which appeared to him, for luck. A young man having killed any large animal for the first time sits up all night singing, drumming, and praying. A feast is given in his honor. This is repeated whenever he slays any new species of big game for the first time.

Franklin says of the Cree of Cumberland House, "Many of the Creek (sic) hunters are careful to prevent a woman from partaking of the head of a moose-deer, lest it should spoil their future hunts, and for the same reason they avoid bringing it up to a fort, fearing lest the white people should give the bones to the dogs."¹

While it is true that the original reasons for which most of these bear ceremonies and sacrifices were offered by the Eastern Cree are now lost, the Northern Saulteaux have preserved certain customs connected with the bear and moreover give reasons for the sacrifices which they offer. According to the Saulteaux all bear kind are controlled by a great chief, a bear of extraordinary size with remarkable supernatural powers. This "bear manitou" controls the destiny of all the species, and it is through his will that they wander about the earth. If so inclined, the "bear manitou" may send any one of his subjects to any place that he wills, and it is through him alone that a bear is ever caught in an Indian trap or slain by an Indian. Therefore, the sacrifices and honors accorded to the bear by the Ojibway have a dual reason: first, through this means the slain bear is himself honored, and secondly, the "bear manitou" is pleased and takes pains to see that the Indian thus according him his due is rewarded by future successful hunts. Some kindred reason no doubt actuates the Eastern Cree when he smokes tobacco over the body of the bear or saves the skin of the bear's chin. From the proximity of most of the Eastern Cree to the Northern Saulteaux, and the known interchange of ideas and culture, one would imagine that these reasons at former times obtained in both localities.

¹ Franklin, 64.

The Indians believe that all animals are speaking and thinking beings, in many ways not one whit less intelligent than human beings. The reason that they are less successful in life is that they are unfortunate, "their medicine is not as strong." The reason that the Indian is able to prey upon them is that he is more fortunate, not more intelligent. In some cases, however, certain animals have a greater supernatural ability than the Indian. This is particularly true of the bear who is considered more intelligent and to have greater medicine powers in many ways than mankind. He walks upon his hind legs like a man, and displays manlike characteristics. In fact, some tribes regard the bear as an unfortunate man. For this reason, much attention is paid to him. He is also noted for his bravery, and many tribes are known to esteem a necklace of bear's claws, the trophy acquired by a man who has slain a bear, above the human scalp. In this connection, the writer has noted special honors accorded the bear among the Cree, Ojibway, Menomini, Seneca, Delaware, Assiniboine,¹ and others.

DOCTORS AND MEDICINES.

Considerable general knowledge of medicines, herbs, and simples is in the possession of the ordinary people. There are, however, regular physicians, each of whom has to possess some degree of magic power. Among the Eastern Cree, doctors never suck wounds with bone tubes, as among some Algonkin tribes. They must always be paid when a cure is effected. The diagnosis, as far as observed by the writer, generally consists of a purely superficial examination. The Eastern Cree are expert botanists and even recognize many obscure plants. They claim to be very well conversant with their curative properties. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of opportunity for collection and identification, the following list of medicinal plants is very incomplete and indefinite in regard to classification.² It is given here merely to show in a small part the wide range of medicinal plant usage among the Eastern Cree.

Kakigébûk, "country tea"; for retention of urine.

"blackberry willow root"; as an emetic.

Wisègipek, "bitter leaf"; externally, used for strains, blistering, as a sticking plaster and sometimes small quantities taken internally.

¹ Lowie, 56.

² For the few identifications here made, and in fact for all those used here and elsewhere in this paper, the writer is indebted to Mr. Waldron De Witt Miller of the Department of Ornithology of this Museum.

Wateinakun, juniper bark, *Juniper communis*; as a poultice to draw out pain.

Oskiskkatik, "English" pine, *pinus sp.* (?); used for heating wounds.

Minahik, spruce, *Picea sp.* (?); boiled or beaten. Used as a plaster on wounds, kept there until it comes off of itself.

İlilatchitipityu, balsam spruce; gum used for cuts.

Atamiskiu, *pinus*, all species; pitch used to heal cuts.

Muscuminanatik, mountain ash; now and again as a tonic, upper and outer bark discarded, inner bark boiled.

———, black willow; roots boiled as an ?

———, red willow; bark boiled for an emetic.

———, castoreum, used to heal cuts and wounds.

For constipation, water to which fish grease has been added is given as an enema by means of a syringe made of bladder with a tubular bone mouthpiece. This is placed in the rectum and the water injected by pressing the bladder.¹

According to Mackenzie:—

"These people are, in general, subject to few disorders. The lues venerea, however, is a common complaint, but cured by the application of simples, with whose virtues they appear to be well acquainted. They are also subject to fluxes, and pains in the breast, which some have attributed to the very cold and keen air which they inhale; but I should imagine that these complaints must frequently proceed from their immoderate indulgence in fat meat at their feasts, particularly when they have been preceded by long fastings."²

Again he says:—

"These people know the medicinal virtues of many herbs and simples, and apply the roots of plants and the bark of trees with success. But the conjurors, who monopolize the medical science, find it necessary to blend mystery with their art, and do not communicate their knowledge. Their materia medica they administer in the form of purges or clysters; but the remedies and surgical operations are supposed to derive much of their effect from magic incantation. When a blister rises in the foot from the frost, the chaffing of the shoe, etc., they immediately open it, and apply the heated blade of a knife to the part, which painful as it may be, is found to be efficacious. A sharp flint serves them as a lancet for letting blood, as well as for scarification in bruises and swellings. For sprains, the dung of an animal just killed is considered as the best remedy. They are very fond of European medicines, though they are ignorant of their application: and those articles form a considerable part of the European traffic with them."³

Doctors also obtained medicines in the following manner:— Receptacles of several different sizes were hung outside in the evening. The shaman

¹ Hearne, 190.

² Mackenzie, 66.

³ Mackenzie, 74.

then returned to his lodge and beat the drum all night singing and praying. In the morning, he sent someone to secure the receptacles which were found to be full of different kinds of medicine, whereas they had been empty. Each of these had a distinct use. Such medicines were either liquid or solid, but if dry medicines alone were desired, birchbark folders were hung up. The shaman alone knew the use of his medicines and no one else could be successful with them. With these magic medicines even amputations and injuries could be cured.

No attempt is made to cure or attend the insane. As an idiot is popularly supposed to be possessed of an evil spirit, the unfortunate wretch is usually killed. To this day such an execution usually takes the form of burning at the stake.

WAR CUSTOMS.

According to our informants, in olden times every warrior had special garments, worn only in time of battle. The war cap, or bonnet, was a close-fitting skull cap of buckskin, with a standing ridge of larger feathers placed close together and running across the crown from forehead to back. Sometimes a band of skin was bound around the head and on this plumes were fastened, chaplet wise. War paint was not used. However, war medicine revealed in dreams was rubbed over the body. The weapons were a ball-headed war club with a stone set in it, the spear and the bow and arrows. The arrows were made of iron willow, and tipped with bone; the short sinew-backed bow of juniper or tamarack. The war spear was extensively used. It had a bone point and a smooth handle with a knob at the end so that it could not slip out of the hand when in service.

Armor was made of skin drawn over wood, thick bark or hard leather which rested next to the skin of the wearer. The outside was inflated by blowing, making a kind of pneumatic cushion. Shields were not carried as every warrior was taught to dodge arrows. If a man carried a spear he could knock aside the arrows with that.

The war dance and conjuring dance, were always given before going into battle (p. 40). Feasts for success were sometimes made, the efficacy of these depending upon the guests devouring everything that was set before them. Unlike the Northern Saulteaux, the Eastern Cree did not change their names prior to going into battle. The war cry (*Säskwéo*) was sometimes given at the order of the chief, who cried, "*Säskwék!*" (Give the war cry.) War cries are still given when shooting rapids. Scalping was

carried on, and in the old wars against the Eskimo, it was customary for the victor to eat a piece of fat cut from the thigh of the slain enemy. This has been done recently, for the fathers of some middle-aged hunters met at Moose Factory are credited with the experience. Famous persons, when captured, were sometimes tied to a stake, cut up piecemeal while alive, boiled and eaten before their own eyes.

If the sacred war bundle of the Central tribes is or was known to the Cree, no traces of its use could be unearthed, yet a certain correspondence of ideas and practices was apparent.

The people against whom the Eastern Cree made war were the Eskimo and some of the neighboring Algonkin. They are still desperately afraid of the Iroquois (Notohowéo) who pursued them to their most northern boundaries. They were always on terms of great friendship with the Saulteaux Ojibway.

While most prayers were offered silently, a man who felt that he was losing his power during battle would stand and pray aloud to the sun as follows:—

tciyá' ni manitoum

you my manitou, my

kāspé mutatam tapoena

that I trusted to are you

kīka wā' yī tcihen¹

really going to deceive me?

The war song which was given before and during battle, begged for power to go against the enemy as swiftly as the bird flies, and begged that the sun would help, and not deceive, the supplicant. Here a certain resemblance to the beliefs of the central tribes may be observed, for these war songs plead for the same powers to whom the southern tribes appealed, and which they received through their palladiums, the war bundles. The sun too, is almost universally recognized in the Woodlands, as the chief war god.

To hark back to earlier times, Mackenzie informs us that:—

“Many and various are the motives which induce a savage to engage in war. To prove his courage, or to revenge the death of his relations, or some of his tribe, by the massacre of an enemy. If the tribe feel themselves called upon to go to war, the elders convene the people, in order to know the general opinion. If it be for war, the chief publishes his intention to smoke in the stem at a certain period, to which solemnity, meditation and fasting are required as preparatory ceremonies. When the people are thus assembled, and the meeting sanctified by the customs of smoking, the chief enlarges on the causes which have called them together, and the necessity

¹ Rupert's House' dialect.

of the measures proposed on the occasion. He then invites those who are willing to follow him, to smoke out of the sacred stem, which is considered as the token of enrollment; and if it should be the general opinion, that assistance is necessary, others are invited, with great formality, to join them. Every individual who attends these meetings brings something with him as a token of his warlike intention, or as an object of sacrifice, which, when the assembly dissolves, is suspended from poles near the place of council."¹

MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

When at the Posts, the modern Cree Indians bury their dead according to the ceremonies of the Church of England. In the "bush" they follow this method as nearly as possible; but, of course, without the burial service. Coffins of wood are constructed and the grave closely surrounded by a fence, more for appearance than for protection against wild animals. Head-stones, or rather boards, are often set up.

In the old days, so the Indians say, the body was laid out straight in the grave and not flexed, as was so universal a custom among most of the Algonkin peoples. It was wrapped in birch or pine bark, and, if a man, skulls and bones of the animals the hunter used to kill were put nearby. Persons never got into a grave while digging it, only taking out as much earth as they could reach, for if any one went into the grave it was thought that he would die in a very short time. The belongings of the deceased were laid upon the grave and not in it, as common farther to the south. After a week or two people generally took the articles left at the grave with the exception of the bow and arrows, if the grave was that of a man. Custom decreed that these might never be used by any other person. It was customary for the oldest man in the band to watch over the grave for two or three days in order that the spirit of the departed might not return and take away any one else. Sometimes, for the first three nights, the wigwam was entirely surrounded by fish nets stretched on poles, to form a barrier to prevent the spirit from returning.

From Mackenzie we learn that the Cree of his time had different practices than those now observed:—

"The funeral rites begin, like all other solemn ceremonials, with smoking, and are concluded by a feast. The body is dressed in the best habiliments possessed by the deceased, or his relations, and is then deposited in a grave, lined with branches:

¹ Mackenzie, 69.

some domestic utensils are placed on it, and a kind of canopy erected over it. During this ceremony, great lamentations are made, and if the departed person is very much regretted the near relations cut off their hair, pierce the fleshy part of their thighs and arms with arrows, knives, etc., and blacken their faces with charcoal. If they have distinguished themselves in war, they are sometimes laid on a kind of scaffolding; and I have been informed that women, as in the East, have been known to sacrifice themselves to the manes of their husbands. The whole of the property belonging to the departed person is destroyed, and the relations take in exchange for wearing apparel, any rags that will cover their nakedness. The feast bestowed on the occasion, which is, or at least used to be, repeated annually, is accompanied with eulogiums on the deceased, and without any acts of ferocity. On the tomb are carved or painted the symbols of his tribe, which are taken from the different animals of the country."¹

Mackenzie also states:—

"Among their various superstitions, they believe that the vapor which is seen to hover over moist and swampy places, is the spirit of some person lately dead. They also fancy another spirit which appears, in the shape of a man, upon the trees near the lodge of a person deceased, whose property has not been interred with them. He is represented as bearing a gun in his hand, and it is believed that he does not return to his rest, till the property that has been withheld from the grave has been sacrificed to it."²

SOME NOTES ON FOLKLORE.

Owing to the great mortality among the older people, during the influenza epidemic which scourged northern Quebec, Ontario, and Keewatin during 1908-9, it is now very hard to find anyone able to relate the myths and legends of the Eastern Cree. The younger generation usually remembers only fragments of the stories, and they object strongly to relating them in this form.

There are, as is customary among other Algonkin tribes, fixed titles for each story. These titles are usually chosen from the name of one of the characters, and the hero is by no means always selected. The custom of never telling a story until after the first frost, has been discontinued lately.

Like their kindred, the Ojibway and Menomini, the Cree used to prefer long stories, crowding many incidents into one tale. In this respect they differ from the Sauk and Fox, who delight in short succinct narratives; but

¹ Mackenzie, 68.

² Mackenzie, 74.

the tendency of the younger Cree is to break up their legends into short anecdotes.¹

All along the west coast of James and Hudson's Bays, Wisákatcak plays a prominent part as the culture hero and trickster, but the cycle seems to be unknown to the Eastmain and Labrador Cree, at least all inquiries made among them in 1908 proved barren. As might be expected, some of the Cree who are cognizant of Ojibway folklore identify Wisákatcak with Nanabozo. On the other hand, those Saulteaux living in proximity to the Cree have incorporated the name of Wisákatcak in the form of Wisékétcak. While many of the adventures of Wisákatcak are ludicrous and often obscene, the stories are not told for the sake of their humor, and his rôle of benefactor is never forgotten.

Otter takes the part of the buffoon, and is presumably thrown into serious myths to lessen the gravity of the plot. Like Otter, the Hell-diver, is regarded as a clown and an ignoramus. An animal which appears in more southern tales as a water monster is identified by the Cree with the walrus, who, like the Horned Snake of other tribes, fears the implacable Thunder.

The most characteristic of Eastern Cree tales are those concerning cannibalism, which may well have a foundation in fact, and those stories which narrate alternately the feats of rival conjurors. Escaping danger by means of a hole dug in the ground seems to be a Cree institution.

In common with their Saulteaux neighbors, the Cree are fond of making humorous quotations from well-known legends. For example, a half breed Cree-Ojibway noticing me talk earnestly to a crowd of Indians observed laughingly, "Shingibis is walking!" The idea is that when Shingibis the Hell-diver, a very aquatic bird, takes to the land, there is something doing. A Cree, under almost identical conditions remarked, with the same purport, "Wisákatcak is in his conjuring tent!"

Freaks, phenomena, and accidents, are often jocularly attributed to the mischievous pranks of Wisákatcak. A sly person may be nicknamed for the Trickster, but a dog is called Tcikápis under the same circumstances.

A comparison with the folklore of their neighbors and some of their relatives shows that out of fifty incidents found among the Eastern Cree, twenty-two are common to the Ojibway, thirty to the Assiniboine, ten to the Sauk and Fox, eight to the Blackfoot, eight to the Naskapi, six to the Menomini, four to the Montagnais, and one to the Chipewyan. The discrepancy shown in the number of incidents among the Chipewyan and neighboring Montagnais, and the comparatively larger number among such more distant people as the Sauk and Fox may be accounted for by the fact that our data from the northern tribes are less complete.

¹ A series of good examples of this dismembering may be found in Russell, 201.

WISÁGATCAK.¹

One winter day, Wiságatcak was chiseling for mythical "big" beaver. He caught the beaver by shutting up the creek with stakes, leaving an opening in the center of the stream. He stood there waiting all day for the beaver to try to swim through the opening and escape. Towards evening, he saw one coming along, but just as he was about to kill it, Muskrat stole up behind and scratched his anus. This startled Wiságatcak so that he failed to slay his quarry. At last, it grew so dark that he could no longer see the game, so he went ashore and built a fire without eating anything. He thought to himself, "To-morrow, I will try to break the beaver dam and dry up the creek."

Early the next morning, Wiságatcak arose and made a pointed stick, or spear, from juniper. With this he broke the dam, and when it was broken, the water began to rise, so that at last Wiságatcak could no longer stand on the ground. When this happened, he made a raft of logs and got on that. He took aboard a pair of every kind of animal and stayed there with them for two weeks. They drifted about, for there was no chance to anchor anywhere. While all this happened the Big Beaver were conjuring against Wiságatcak to revenge themselves for breaking their dam. After two weeks had passed, Wiságatcak wished to know the depth of the water underneath the raft so he took Muskrat and tied a long string to his feet and told him to dive under the water and bring up some mud.

The rat went down; he was unable to reach the bottom and was drowned before Wiságatcak could pull him up. Wiságatcak waited for three days and then sent the crow to see if he could find any dry land. He told Crow if he found any he was to bring back some moss; but Crow came back empty-billed.

When Wiságatcak learned this, he was frightened. He had a little moss on his raft and he took it and began to conjure. The next day, he told Wolf to take the moss in his mouth and run around the raft with it. Wolf did as he was told and as soon as he ran around the raft, earth began to appear and grow on it. Wolf continued to run around for a week while the land kept on growing larger. It continued to grow for two weeks. At the end of this time, Wolf had made it so big that he never came back. Since the earth is built over water, this accounts for the existence of subterranean springs.

When Wolf had been gone a week and had not yet returned, Wiságatcak said to the other animals, "Well, the ground must now be big enough for

¹ Albany Cree.

us to live on." Beaver asked Wiságatecak. "How are we going to live? We are now eating willows and poplars and there are as yet no trees on the earth for us to live on." Wiságatecak replied, "Just wait, you will need a little creek to live in also." "Yes," said Beaver. "I'll do something to-night," said Wiságatecak.

That night Wiságatecak conjured again. He dug down through the earth over the raft to get a log from it; but the earth was now so great he could not find any trace of his raft. When Wiságatecak failed to get even a stick he said to Beaver, "Well, I'll make a creek for you, and you may live on the roots of the grass until trees grow up." That is why Beaver eats certain white roots to this day although his proper diet is bark.

When Wiságatecak had built the creek for Beaver, he dwelt in it. After a while, Wiságatecak came back and found that Beaver had dug trenches everywhere in his search for roots. He saw one beaver swimming about. "Come here brother," he said, for he was the older brother of all the animals. The beaver refused to go. "Why do you call me," said Beaver, "when you only wish to kill me?" Then Wiságatecak was angry and said, "I'll never come again." He never did.

One time, when Wiságatecak was out hunting, he saw a great number of wild fowl and said to himself, "What can I do to get them?" He was carrying a big bag and he thought he would pull up some moss and fill his bag with that. He did so, and when he had stuffed it full he went away, carrying it on his back. When the wild fowl saw Wiságatecak's bundle, they approached and asked, "What is that you are carrying on your back?" Wiságatecak stopped and replied, "This is my 'singing wigwam' (sic) where I used to sing and dance." Then he took out the moss and made a lodge of it. When the wild fowl saw the wigwam, they came over and went in. Wiságatecak said to the birds, "When I sing, take care to do everything that I say to do." Then all the wild fowl began to dance.

After Wiságatecak had sung for some time, he cried out in the song for all the birds to shut their eyes, and dance in a circle, with their heads and necks inward and close together. When the birds did this, Wiságatecak took a cord and made a running noose of it which he threw over the necks of all the birds at once and so succeeded in strangling a great many of them. When Loon heard the dying beat of the wild fowls' wings he began to open his eyes and peep. As soon as he saw that the birds were being killed, he cried out, "Wiságatecak is killing us," and ran to the door. Wiságatecak pursued Loon, and just as he was escaping through the door, Wiságatecak managed to kick him squarely in the rump. This accounts for the peculiar shape of the loon's rump bone to-day.

Then thought Wiságatecak to himself, "I wonder how I can cook all

these birds." He dug down under the sand by the fireplace for he intended to roast the fowls by burying them in the hot sand. In order to remember where he had put them, he left one leg of each bird sticking up above the surface. When he had done this, Wisá'gcak wished to have a good sleep but before going to bed he said to his rump, "Well, you had better watch while I sleep."

At last, someone passing by saw the tent. He waited until he was sure Wisá'gcak was asleep and then he came and peeped in at the door. The faithful rump gave warning by breaking wind, Wisá'gcak roused at once, jumped up, and looked about. The marauder, however, had disappeared and Wisá'gcak saw no one and returned to bed. "Don't you fool me like that again," he said to his rump.

As soon as the intruder heard Wisá'gcak snore again, he came and peeped in the tent once more. Again, Wisá'gcak's rump gave tongue. Wisá'gcak leaped up and looked out, but again the culprit escaped him. As Wisá'gcak could see no one, he spoke very sharply to his rump for deceiving him. Then he went back to his bed. As soon as he was asleep the man came and looked in again but this time Wisá'gcak's rump was angry because it had been reproved twice, and failed to give warning. Then the man entered Wisá'gcak's wigwam and stole all the geese and other wild fowl. The thief pulled off one foot from each and to deceive Wisá'gcak stuck them up in the sand around the fire where the birds had been. At length, Wisá'gcak awoke and being very hungry, he commenced to pull up his geese, but all that he could find were the feet, so he knew he had been robbed while he slept.

Wisá'gcak was very angry with his rump for not warning him of the thief's approach. So he put a stone in the fire and heated it red hot. When it was hot enough he took off his leggings and breechclout and sat upon the stone to burn his rump to punish it for its treachery. As he sat on the hot stones he began to break wind and continued to do so. "Look here now," said Wisá'gcak to his anus, "you suffer because you did not warn me." When he had finished burning it, it was withered and shaped like everyone's else and there was a deep crease burned in the middle. That is why mankind has the rump shaped in this way. Formerly, a man's rump was puckered like that of a frog.

When Wisá'gcak had done this, he went hurrying off and left his wigwam standing. He took his bow and arrows to hunt game, for he was very hungry since he had lost his dinner. At every step he took he broke wind, "Poop! poop! poop!" and so his rump revenged itself by warning all the game and spoiling his hunting.

At length, Wisá'gcak began to starve because he could not approach

the game. "Don't make any more noise," said he to his rump, "and I'll give you something to eat." There was a big scab on his rump where he had burned it, and at last it dropped off. As Wiságatecak was starving, he picked up the scab and began to eat it. He thought it was dried meat.¹ The squirrel saw Wiságatecak eating the scab and he could n't help laughing. "That is your own scab you are eating," said he to Wiságatecak. Then Wiságatecak threw his scab at the birch tree and the punk of rotten birches is of that scab. Then Wiságatecak pounded the tree with a stick as well and thus he marked the bark in the way one sees it to-day.

After Wiságatecak had done this, he went away from there. He saw a bear eating berries. He approached the bear to shoot it but his rump broke wind and warned the bear that Wiságatecak was coming. When the bear heard and saw Wiságatecak coming he would run off, but Wiságatecak called out, "Hold on, my brother." The bear answered, "I did not know you were a brother of mine." Wiságatecak replied, "Don't you know? Long ago, we were brothers; we will eat berries together. Do you see that thing sticking up out of the water there?" "No," said the bear. "Don't you see that thing sticking out of the water?" said Wiságatecak. "No, I see nothing," said the bear. "Do you know what I have done?" said Wiságatecak, "Formerly, I used to see as poorly as you do, but I mashed berries and put them in my eyes."

Then the bear thought he would like to see as well as Wiságatecak so he began to mash berries and put them in his eyes. "After I had done that," said Wiságatecak, "I went to bed and had a short nap. I had a stone for my pillow too." The bear did likewise. When the bear fell asleep Wiságatecak took up a big stone and mashed the bear's head with it and killed him.² Then Wiságatecak skinned the bear. He cut it in pieces and cooked them all. He preserved the grease and intestines. He did not attempt to eat until he had cooked all of it. While he was cooking he looked up and saw Muskrat swimming in the river. As the grease would not harden, he called to the rat to take it and swim through the water with it. When Muskrat returned with the grease, Wiságatecak stripped all the flesh from his tail to reward him for his services. That is why it is so thin and skinny now, whereas formerly it was fat and broad like a beaver's and too heavy for him. "Try now and see how fast you can go," said Wiságatecak to Muskrat. Muskrat tried and went so fast that he broke the grease bladder and the grease and oil came out. This accounts for the smooth slick wake the muskrat leaves when swimming. It is the bear's oil and grease calming the water.

¹ Some narrators claim he knew it was his scab, but others hold the contrary to be true.

² One version of this tale makes Wiságatecak turn into a bear and live with his intended victim until he got fat in the fall.

"Now, I will eat my bear," said Wisá'gcak. He began to eat, but he was soon so full that he could hold no more. Then he went over to where two trees were standing close together. He stood between them and said, "Squeeze me until my stomach is stretched so far that I can finish my bear at one meal." At once, the trees came together and began to squeeze Wisá'gcak. When they held Wisá'gcak so closely that he could not get away, they called out to all the animals to come and eat his bear.

All the animals came at once and though Wisá'gcak begged the trees to let him go, they held him fast until his bear was eaten. When it was all gone, they released him. Of all the animals, Seal got the most grease, and Rabbit the least. That is why Seal is so fat and Rabbit so lean. When the trees finally released Wisá'gcak, he was very angry. He started to revenge himself on them by twisting them with his hands. That is the reason some trees are spirally twisted in their growth.

Wisá'gcak went away. It was late in the fall and all the birds were flying south. He told them he would like to go with them. "I can fly as well as you," said he. He started off. The birds said to him, "If you see any people when you are flying, don't look at them, for if you do so, you will fall down." They all flew away and soon Wisá'gcak saw some people. He looked hard at them and down he fell and was smashed to pieces. Then he resumed his human shape, for he had been a bird when he was flying.

Then the Indians he had looked at came up. He was unable to get up for some time, and whenever they felt like evacuating, they would go over and do it upon Wisá'gcak. At last, an old woman came. Wisá'gcak saw her approach, jumped up, and seized a stick which he shoved up her anus. He killed the old woman and ran his stick in the ground, leaving her upon it as meat is placed on a spit to roast before the fire. Then he went home.

Once Wisá'gcak was traveling. As he went along he met three sisters who had never seen a man before. "Ah," thought Wisá'gcak, "I will show them something." He had been hunting beaver and had a freshly severed beaver's head in his hand. "Let us play a new game," said Wisá'gcak to the best looking sister. "You take hold of one jaw and I will take the other and we will sit down, place our feet together, and pull apart." They did as Wisá'gcak suggested and bracing their feet against each other, began to pull. When the woman was exerting her utmost strength, Wisá'gcak let go.

Prostratam mulierem, vestibus sublati genitalibus conspectis, stupravit. Illa exclamavit, "Wisá'gcak me interficit!" Tunc sorores eum detrahere, "minime mihi malum facit." Cum Wisá'gcak eam stuprasset, mulier iterum cum eo coire voluit, sed sorores quare tantam ex novo ludo cepit

delectationem nesciebant et ludum euodem disure concupiverunt. So she could not keep him to herself. Very soon Wiságatecak was very nearly dead, but they insisted upon his continuing the play. Finally, he escaped, but he was almost dead.

At last, Wiságatecak went to the north. On the other side of Winisk-sibi (Ground Hog or Woodchuck River) he met the north wind who was traveling in the same direction. To escape from the north wind he built a shelter of rocks which may still be seen there to this day. It is just the size of a man. After this happened, nobody knows what became of Wiságatecak.

WEMISHUS.¹

A whole family was once killed by the devil ² (sic), excepting two very small boys. The Cannibal kept them, for he intended to fatten and eat them. The oldest boy discovered this and said to his brother, "Do you know where our mother's awl is?" "Yes," replied the little one. "Find it as quickly as you can, our parents have been killed and eaten by the Cannibal."

The little fellow found the awl and gave it to his big brother who took it and bored a hole down into the ground. Then the little boys went into the hole and the oldest brother carried with him a piece of wood and a bit of stone, besides the awl. Early in the morning, the Cannibal discovered the boys were gone so he came into the hole to look for them. When the boys heard the Cannibal coming, the oldest brother took the youngest on his back, and fled through the hole under the ground. The first thing they knew, a root projecting from the roof of the hole, tore the little one's cheek very badly as they brushed by.

Soon the Cannibal began to gain on them. Then the older brother threw away the piece of wood. "Let a forest grow up," he cried, and up sprang a dense forest which hindered the progress of the Cannibal. At length, the Cannibal began to catch up again. This time the older brother tried throwing away the rag. Thick briars grew up where it fell and the Cannibal was again delayed, this time longer than before, but after a time he got through. When the older brother heard him coming, he threw away the stone, it became a very large boulder and shut up the hole. This time, it took the Cannibal a very long time to get through. Then the fugitives came out by the side of a lake. When the boys got to the shore they were frightened lest they could not escape. They saw some large animal

¹ Albany Cree.

² A cannibal or Wétigo.

(Walrus) in the lake and they called to him to take them across. Walrus agreed. "Keep a sharp lookout for Thunder," he told them, "I only come out when it is a fine clear day, otherwise I stay beneath the surface." The little chaps promised and got on his back. As soon as they started out, it began to cloud up. Walrus saw the clouds and thought he heard it thunder. He was not sure, however, and he trusted the little boys to tell him. The boys were afraid that Walrus would dive under the water with them, so they dared not tell him. At last they reached the shallow water near the other shore, where they knew they would be safe, so they told Walrus.

Walrus said to the boys, "There is an old man named Wemishus who always travels up and down the lake near this place. If you see him coming, hide and never fire your arrows in the water, for if he sees them in the water he will find you. If you should shoot your arrows in the water, don't try to get them again, let them go." Then Walrus returned.

When Walrus returned, the Cannibal was waiting on the shore. He called to Walrus, to take him across. "Sit on my back then," said Walrus, "but don't move, for if you do you will hurt my neck." The Cannibal promised, but when they were off he did move and hurt Walrus, who dove down and drowned him.

Walrus often warned the boys about Wemishus. At last, one day, the old man came around a point all at once and caught the boys unaware. Just then, the older boy's arrow fell into the water and Wemishus called to the boy to come and get it. For a long time, the lad was afraid. Wemishus said, "Come and take your arrow. I won't touch you. You can see I am far off in my canoe and could not reach you anyway.

The boy approached. "Come a little closer," said Wemishus. The boy hesitated although Wemishus spoke to him several times. At last, the boy came so close that Wemishus hooked him up into his canoe with his paddle. Then he took the boy away, crying. The younger brother he left behind on the bank also crying. The older brother begged Wemishus to take the little one too, but he refused. "One is enough. For if I take your little brother there will be two of you against me and you will be able to beat me in conjuring."

The little brother sat on the bank crying all day, for he thought that he would surely starve to death now that his brother was gone. At last, two polar bears came to him. "Don't cry any longer," said they, "we will bring you up." So they looked after him, and were just like dogs to him until he became a man.

The older brother was taken home by Wemishus. When his daughter saw him, she said, "So you are bringing another one home to kill." Wemishus had brought the boy to be her husband, for he had already become a man.

So the older brother took the girl to wife and lived with her for a while. He was continually contesting with his father-in-law with the bow and arrow, and he always beat the old man. At last, the boy said one day to Wemishus, "I wonder where we can get some gulls' eggs?" "Oh," said Wemishus, "I know where to go." So off they went. As they walked along, they came to a great rock which was split open, and they had to jump over the crack. "You jump first," said Wemishus to the youth. Although the crack was very wide the boy jumped over. The old man was to jump next, but he drew back once, for he knew he would not succeed because the young man's power (medicine) was stronger than his. (It seems the old man had caused the split rock to be where it was by his magic, for he hoped to trap his son-in-law.) At last the old man jumped but he fell into the crack. The rock came together and would have killed him if he had been an ordinary man. Instead, however, it quickly released him. The old man's head was broken in four pieces but he tied the fragments and his head became whole again. They started off again; this time in their canoe. By and by, they came to the island where they expected to obtain the gulls' eggs and feathers. As they walked about, the old man kept sending the young man farther and farther away from the shore, until at last he had a chance to run to his canoe and get away. Wemishus did not paddle. He rapped on the bottom of his canoe with his staff and off it went. The young man killed a gull and collected some eggs. He skinned the gull. Then he crawled into the skin and flew off. He flew over Wemishus as he passed by. Wemishus was lying on his back in the canoe. The young man defecated full in his face as he flew by. "Oh, the odor," cried the old man, "the gulls have finished my son-in-law already."

The young man flew home. He lit near by and took off the skin and went to his tent before the old man arrived. His wife asked him where her father was. "I'm not taking care of him," said the young man, "but he is coming along over there."

Finally, the old man arrived. When he came ashore he saw his two grandsons shooting with their bows and arrows. Their arrows were feathered with gulls' feathers and they had gulls' eggs to eat. "Where did you get those?" asked Wemishus of his grandson. "Our father gave them to us," they replied. "Oh, your father, the gulls have eaten him by this time," said the old man, "for I found the smell of him as I came along in my canoe."

When the old man really saw his son-in-law in the tent he was surprised. He sat there feeling very much frightened. He could not take his eyes off the young man. "No wonder you feel sad," said his daughter, "you always used to be trying to beat someone, but now you have someone to beat you." The old man had nothing to say, so to divert attention he

cried out, "Oh, see that louse running about on my son-in-law's face." The old man began to get frightened for he could not vanquish his son-in-law however hard he tried.

It was nearing winter, and the two men were camping alone. They used to hang their leggings and moccasins to dry in the tent every night. The younger man did not trust Wemishus and watched him all the time. He changed moccasins and leggings with the old man. Then the old man got up in the night and made a great fire. The young man lay still and pretended to be asleep but he watched his father-in-law all the time. The young man saw Wemishus go to where he thought his son-in-law's moccasins were and threw them in the fire. When he thought they were burned up he cried out, "Your leggings are burning." Then his son-in-law jumped up. "Mine are safe," he cried. "Where are yours?" Then Wemishus found that he had been tricked into burning his own moccasins and leggings. They had a long way to go from their camp to their home. It was so cold the next day that the trees fairly cracked. The old man did n't know what to do, but he blackened his legs with charcoal to look like leggings, and he hoped that would keep out the cold.

They started out. Soon the old man began to freeze. He said to his son-in-law, "The best thing I can do is to turn into a juniper (tamarack) tree. It will be good for my descendants to use for firewood." When the young man looked back where his father-in-law had stood, there was a juniper tree.

The young man reached home. His sons were grown up now. His wife knew something had gone wrong, so she asked her husband where her father was. "Your father has got what he wanted now," said he. Then she guessed the old man was dead and began to cry. Then her husband told her the old man had burned all his clothes and turned into a juniper tree.

"Now, I am going away," he told her, "our grown-up sons will look after you. I may come back again, and I may not." He really could n't tell, for he meant to go and look for his younger brother, who was now a grown man. So he went to the place where Wemishus had left the little fellow and sure enough, there he saw signs of his brother. He saw his tent and approached it. The younger brother knew someone was coming and came out with his bow and arrow drawn. "Don't shoot, I am your older brother," said the other. So the young man did not fire, for he heard him. Though he could just remember the time he had lost his older brother, for a long time he would not believe that this stranger was he.

At last when the older brother asked the younger one many questions about his parents, he partly believed. "Did you ever look in the water to see yourself?" said the older brother. "Yes," replied the younger. "Did

you see that scar on your face? Do you remember the root that caught you and scratched you?" "Yes, I remember that now," said the young man and now he was sure of his brother, and they lived together. The elder brother wanted him to go home with him, but the young man would not go, nor would he let his older brother go home. The young man asked him if he had a wife and family, but he said that he did not. The younger brother continually found the older one crying. "You must have a family if you cry so." "Yes," said he, "I have two grown-up sons."

The two polar bears still lived with the youth, but he told them they must go now, for he had his brother. The bears were very sorry and when he did drive them away they came back two or three times. At last he said to the bears, "The next time you come back, I will be gone, and you will not see me." The two brothers went away, but in what direction, I did not hear.

THE SON OF *Āioswé*.¹

Once there was an old man named *Āioswé* who had two wives. When his son by one of these women began to grow up, *Āioswé* became jealous of him. One day, he went off to hunt and when he came back, found marks on one of the women (the co-wife with his son's mother) which proved to him that his son had been on terms of intimacy with her.

One day the old man and the boy went to a rocky island to hunt for eggs. Wishing to get rid of his son, the old man persuaded him to gather eggs farther and farther away from the shore. The young man did not suspect anything until he looked up and saw his father paddling off in the canoe. "Why are you deserting me, father?" he cried. "Because you have played tricks on your stepmother," answered the old man.

When the boy found that he was really left behind, he sat there crying hour after hour. At last, Walrus appeared. He came near the island and stuck his head above the water. "What are you crying for, my son?" said Walrus. "My father has deserted me on this island and I want to get home to the mainland. Will you not help me to get ashore?" the boy replied. Walrus said that he would do so willingly. "Get on my back," said Walrus, "and I will take you to the mainland." Then Walrus asked *Āioswé's* son if the sky was clear. The boy replied that it was, but this was a lie, for he saw many clouds. *Āioswé's* son said this because he was afraid that Walrus would desert him if he knew it was cloudy. Walrus said, "If you think I am not going fast enough, strike on my horns (tusks) and let me

¹ Or *Aiswéo*. Rupert's House Cree, also Moose Factory.

know when you think it is shallow enough for you to get ashore, then you can jump off my back and walk to the land."

As they went along, Walrus said to the boy, "Now my son, you must let me know if you hear it thunder, because as soon as it thunders, I must go right under the water." The boy promised to let Walrus know. They had not gone far, when there came a peal of thunder. Walrus said, "My son, I hear thunder." "Oh, no, you are mistaken," said the boy who feared to be drowned, "what you think is thunder is only the noise your body makes going so quickly through the water." Walrus believed the boy and thought he must have been wrong. Some time later, there came another peal of thunder and this time, Walrus knew he was not mistaken, he was sure it was thunder. He was very angry and said he would drop Aioswé's son there, whether the water was shallow or not. He did so but the lad had duped Walrus with his lies so that he came where the water was very shallow and the boy escaped, but Walrus was killed by lightning before he could reach water deep enough to dive in. This thunderstorm was sent to destroy Walrus by Aioswé's father, who conjured for it. Walrus, on the other hand, was the result of conjuring by his mother, who wished to save her son's life.¹

When Aioswé's son reached the shore, he started for home, but he had not gone far before he met an old woman, who had been sent as the result of a wish for his safety by his mother (or was a wish for his safety on his mother's part, personified). The old woman instructed the lad how to conduct himself if he ever expected to reach his home and mother again. "Now you have come ashore there is still a lot of trouble for you to go through before you reach home," said she, and she gave him the stuffed skin of an ermine (weasel in white winter coat). "This will be one of your weapons to use to protect yourself," were her words as she tendered him this gift, and she told him what dangers he would encounter and what to do in each case.

Then the son of Aioswé started for his home once more. As he journeyed through the forest he came upon a solitary wigwam inhabited by two old blind hags, who were the result of an adverse conjuration by his father. Both of these old women had sharp bones like daggers protruding from the lower arm at the elbow. They were very savage and used to kill everybody they met. When Aioswé's son approached the tent, although the witches could not see him, they knew from their magic powers that he was near. They asked him to come in and sit down, but he was suspicious, for he did not like the looks of their elbows.

¹ One version of this tale says that Walrus dived and escaped, leaving the boy struggling in the water and that a gull pitied him and carried him ashore.

He thought of a plan by which he might dupe the old women into killing each other. Instead of going himself and sitting between them he got a large parchment and fixing it to the end of a pole, he poked it in between them. The old women heard it rattle and thought it was the boy himself coming to sit between them. Then they both turned their backs to the skin and began to hit away at it with their elbows. Every time they stabbed the skin, they cried out, "I am hitting the son of *Āioswé*! I've hit him! I've hit him!" At last, they got so near each other that they began to hit one another, calling out all the time, "I am hitting the son of *Āioswé*!" They finally stabbed each other to death and the son of *Āioswé* escaped this danger also.

When the young man had vanquished the two old women he proceeded on his journey. He had not gone very far when he came to a row of dried human bones hung across the path so that no one could pass by without making them rattle. Not far away, there was a tent full of people and big dogs. Whenever they heard anyone disturb the bones, they would set upon him and kill him. The old woman who had advised *Āioswé*'s sons told him that when he came to this place he could escape by digging a tunnel in the path under the bones. When he arrived at the spot he began to follow her advice and burrow under. He was careless and when he was very nearly done and completely out of sight, he managed to rattle the bones. At once, the dogs heard and they cried out, "That must be *Āioswé*'s son." All the people ran out at once, but since *Āioswé*'s son was under ground in the tunnel they could not see him, so after they had searched for a while they returned. The dogs said, "We are sure this is the son of *Āioswé*," and they continued to search.

At length, they found the mouth of the hole *Āioswé*'s son had dug. The dogs came to the edge and began to bark till all the people ran out again with their weapons. Then *Āioswé*'s son took the stuffed ermine skin and poked its head up. All the people saw it and thought it was really Ermine. Then they were angry and killed the dogs for lying.

Āioswé's son escaped again and this time he got home. When he drew near his father's wigwam, he could hear his mother crying, and as he approached still closer he saw her. She looked up and saw him coming. She cried out to her husband and co-wife, "My son has come home again." The old man did not believe it. "It is not possible," he cried. But his wife insisted on it. Then the old man came out and when he saw it was really his son, he was very much frightened for his own safety. He called out to his other wife, "Bring some caribou skins and spread them out for my son to walk on." But the boy kicked them away. "I have come a long way," said he, "with only my bare feet to walk on."

That night, the boy sang a song about the burning of the world and the old man sang against him but he was not strong enough. "I am going to set the world on fire," said the boy to his father, "I shall make all the lakes and rivers boil." He took up an arrow and said, "I am going to shoot this arrow into the woods, see if I don't set them on fire." He shot his arrow into the bush and a great blaze sprang up and all the woods began to burn.

"The forest is now on fire," said the old man, "but the water is not yet burning." "I'll show you how I can make the water boil also," said his son. He shot another arrow into the water, and it immediately began to boil. Then the old man who wished to escape said to his son, "How shall we escape?" The old man had been a great bear hunter and had a large quantity of bear's grease preserved in a bark basket. "Go into your fat basket," said his son, "you will be perfectly safe there." Then he drew a circle on the ground and placed his mother there. The ground enclosed by the circle was not even scorched, but the wicked old man who had believed he would be safe in the grease baskets, was burned to death.

Aioswé's son said to his mother, "Let us become birds. What will you be?" "I'll be a robin," said she. "I'll be a whisky jack (Canada jay)," he replied. They flew off together.

TCĪGIBIS, THE HELL DIVER.¹

Tcīgibis was out canoeing and as he went along he saw Otter lying on the bank. Otter knew that Tcīgibis had seen him so he took some punk and put some up his nostrils and up his rectum and lay down again, feigning death. When Tcīgibis returned he saw Otter lying there and went ashore to look at him. When he saw the rotted wood on Otter's nose and anus, he said, "Well, it seems this otter is full of maggots." Tcīgibis turned back from there and hunted up Crawfish and told him he had just found Otter lying dead. Not long before this, Otter had tried to kill and eat Crawfish, but he had only succeeded in pulling all his legs and his claw off on one side.

When Crawfish heard that his enemy was dead, he was very glad. He called all the other crawfish together and said, "Let us go over and see the dead otter." They all went over and a whole lot of them went ashore to look at him. As soon as they saw the punk in Otter's rectum, they commenced to pull it out. Otter was so amused at this that he could not help laughing. One of the crawfish then said, "I believe that that Otter is moving." Crawfish, who had been pulling the punk out of Otter's rectum

¹ Albany Cree.

replied, "Oh, I guess that was I, I must have moved Otter." Then Otter jumped up and caught all the crawfish but one whose legs had all been pulled off on one side by Otter on a former occasion. He was afraid to go too near and that is how he was saved. From him, all the crawfish we have to-day are descended.

After this, Teigibis went canoeing again. As he was traveling, he shot and killed a caribou. Teigibis had a wife and he was jealous of Loon who was his brother on her account. "For," he said, "I believe Loon is after my wife." When he had killed the caribou, he went and found Loon sleeping. Then Teigibis took an iron and heated it in the fire until it was red hot, and then he shoved it down Loon's throat and killed him. When he had killed Loon, he went back and took some of the blood of the caribou and put it in his grease bag. Then he hid the grease bladder in his bosom. When Teigibis had done these things he went home.

When Teigibis reached home he went ashore and everyone came down to see what game he had. The people all knew (supernaturally) that he had killed his brother. They called out to him, "Your brother is dead now." He pulled out his knife and stabbed himself in the bosom, piercing the bladder of blood which ran out all over his body. Then he fell over in the water and escaped by making a long dive.

At first, all the people really thought that Teigibis had committed suicide but when they saw him reappear in the water, a long distance away, they were undeceived, and gave chase. Teigibis escaped, however, and it is just as well, for had the people caught and killed him, there would have been no more hell divers to this day.

MISHI SHIGAK, BIG SKUNK.¹

Big Skunk went hunting one day but he found no game to kill except a toad. He told his wife to cook the toad, and after he had eaten it he went to bed and had a sleep. He dreamed that someone had seen his tracks so next morning, when he got up, he told his wife to go and get what was left of the toad, and when he had finished it, he went back over his trail of the day before. Sure enough, he saw that someone had come out from under the snow and had seen his trail and followed it. It was Weasel. There were a lot of animals of all kinds camping near by and they were starving. They were very much afraid of Big Skunk, so when they learned that Weasel had seen his trail they all fled away from him.

As the animals were fleeing, they came to Beaver's camp. They all

¹ Albany version.

went in and begged for food. Beaver always has plenty of food in his camp and he wished to feed the poor animals. He had big bundles of all kinds of meat so he started to pull one out. It was so heavy that the strain made him break wind. This made Otter snicker. The other animals were very much frightened at this because they feared Beaver would be offended and not give them anything to eat. Beaver tried to lift the bundle a second time and again he broke wind. This time Otter simply could not help bursting out laughing, and it made Beaver so angry that, just as they feared, he refused to give them anything to eat. It was just as well, however, for had the animals taken any of Beaver's meat, they would ever afterwards have been obliged to live on bark and grass as Beaver does. All the animals left Beaver's camp.

As soon as Big Skunk found Weasel's track he began to pursue him. He knew he was with the other animals. As he went along he thought he would see if his rump was powerful enough to kill game. He backed around and aiming at a stump, blew it all to pieces with his discharge. Then he took up the trail again. After a while, he came to a steep mountain, and backing up to it he blew it all to pieces. "Now, that is all right," he said, "I can kill them all now."

He went off until he came to a camping ground and found the animals had all fled. One old otter (not the one who laughed at Beaver) was all tired out and too feeble to flee from him. When this otter saw Big Skunk coming it pretended to be dead. When Big Skunk came up he began to examine it all over to see how it had been killed, but he could not find any marks on its body. At last, he thrust his finger up Otter's aboral aperture. "Well, that is the place the bullet went in," said Big Skunk. "When I come back I will pick him up," he said and covered Otter with brush.

The animals continued to flee before Big Skunk. They tried to pick out a hilly road to tire him out. At last they came on Wolverine who was chiseling beaver. The animals were starving, they had been fleeing from Big Skunk for several days and had had no food. Wolverine sent the animals to his camp to get food. "If Big Skunk comes, I'll shout," said he to them.

Shortly after, Big Skunk did come up. "I'm entirely played out now," said Big Skunk to Wolverine. "I have followed those animals over a good many mountains and hills. "Well," said Wolverine, "you should n't run about so much. You should stay in one place." "Do you wish to make me angry?" said Big Skunk. Then he turned about and discharged his flatus at Wolverine. Then Wolverine bit Big Skunk's anus and closed it with his mouth. He held on so that Skunk could not fire. He shouted to all the animals for help and they all ran out. Then Otter took his tail

and stabbed Big Skunk with it as though it had been a spear, right through the body.

Lynx got a bad cramp when he was running to the spot so that he could not move, but one of the animals returned and cured Lynx so he recovered and coming up grabbed Big Skunk by the neck and finished him.

Then Wolverine could not open his eyes, for Big Skunk had discharged full in his face. "Make a hole in the ice," said Wolverine to the beasts, "so I can wash my eyes." "Don't wash yourself at the lake," said they, "go out to the sea and wash there. It will be salty if you do." So Wolverine started off for the sea. When Wolverine struck against a tree, he could not see anything, he would say, "Who are you?" "I am Black Spruce," "I am Tamarack," or "I am White Spruce," whatever they were, those trees told him truly. At last, he ran into a stump, "Who are you?" he said. "I am a stump, lying on the shore." Then he struck something else. "Who are you?" "I am the ice." Soon he fell in the water and washed himself clean. That is why the water of the sea (James and Hudson's Bay) is salt. It is Big Skunk's flatus that made it so. Then, when Wolverine could see, he came ashore. As he started for home, he sang a song which he made to himself.

"Niki ki poti yepaw mishi Shigak."

"I closed Big Skunk's anus for him."

As Wolverine was returning, three wolves heard him singing. They were his brothers-in-law, for he had married a wolf. They planned to hide and scare him. "Hello brother," they cried, "what are you singing about?" Wolverine was afraid and climbed into a tree. "Are you single?" asked the wolves. "Yes," lied Wolverine. After a while he consented to come down.

It was winter. When it was night they sent Wolverine ahead to find a suitable place to camp. Wolverine wanted to camp in the thick forest. The wolves at once claimed that he had deceived them since only a married man would wish to camp in the thick forest. Then they camped in the open in a hole in the snow. Wolverine nearly froze. He was so cold that he wept. He begged the wolves to cover him with their tails. They covered him with their tails from opposite directions and at last he went to sleep. Before they went to bed they made a fire. Wolverine lighted it with a flint and steel. Then the wolves jeered, "No single man ever carried a flint and steel. This is the way we make fire," said the wolves. They piled up the wood and leaped over it, and it blazed up.

Next morning, they found a deer track and followed it. They noticed something in the snow, and at last they found a deer-killing implement. They came to a lake and killed the deer there. Then they divided it into

four equal parts of flesh, and marrow bones. They ate the deer flesh, and in the evening they began to split the bones for the marrow. When the wolves were to split their bones, they told Wolverine to close his eyes or a splinter would fly in them and blind him. Wolverine did as he was bidden and the wolves took up a bone and struck him over the head with it. Wolverine cried out, and the wolves replied that he must have been looking.

Wolverene then told the wolves to close their eyes while he split his marrow bones. He took up a bone and struck one of the wolves over the head and killed him. This made the other two very angry. Wolverine tried to explain that his victim must have been looking but the wolves told him he must leave them. He went off the next morning. The wolves gave him the power of lighting the fire by jumping over it, but told him to use it only after having hunted.

The next day Wolverine tried his power at mid-day, although he had not hunted. He only got smoke. Finally, he succeeded in getting fire. At night, he again succeeded in making fire so he threw away his flint and steel. The next day he tried to light his fire this way but could not succeed. Then he tried to find his flint and steel but he could not. He nearly froze. He walked four days before he met his family.

His brothers-in-law (the two wolves) and his mother-in-law were there before him. Their tents were close together. Wolverine began to hunt. He killed a lot of beaver but the wolves could n't kill anything. One day, the wolves tracked a moose. They asked Wolverine to help them but he said he did not want to eat moose, he wanted to eat beaver. The wolves drove the moose on to the lake where Wolverine was chiseling beaver and it passed him as it fled. When the wolves came up, they asked Wolverine for their quarry. Wolverine replied, "If his tail had been long enough, you would have seen it." So the wolves hurried up and caught and killed the moose.

Wolverene wanted some moose meat. He had been so stingy with his beavers that he was afraid the wolves would not give him any. He could see the moose fat hung on a pole in front of the wolves' lodge. The wolves knew that he would beg for some, so they had frozen the inner stomach of the moose into a club to kill him when he should ask for it.

Wolverene went home and loaded his sled with beaver meat. He intended to make his mother-in-law a present and then ask for some moose meat. He put large beaver tails on the front of his sled so that his mother-in-law would find them at once. When he arrived at her lodge she asked him why he was bringing them meat when they had plenty and had not done so before, when they were starving. However, she gave him some fat, and told him to close his eyes while he ate it. The wolves hit him with the

"bowl"¹ of the frozen inner stomach. Wolverine cried out in pain, but they hit him again and killed him. Then they took the frozen fat from his mouth, for they said it was getting dirty and was too good to waste. The wolves then killed his two little ones and speared his wife to death.

WHY JAMES BAY IS SALT.²

One day, Wolverine killed a skunk out in the forest. Skunk discharged his fluid in Wolverine's face and blinded him. Wolverine tried to reach the water to wash it off. Every time he came to a tree he would ask it what kind it was. At length, he came to some driftwood, and from this he concluded that he was near the sea. Finally, he reached the sea and washed skunk's fluid out of his eyes, and it is this fluid that makes the sea salt.

THE ADVENTURES OF TCİKÁPIS (Rupert's House Version).³

Once there was a young boy named Tcikápis who lived alone with his sister. Their mother and father had been slain by an animal called "Kací'tos" before the boy could remember. One day, when he grew old enough to go out hunting he asked his sister what color the hair of his parents had been. She replied, "Our father was dark, and our mother was light." He took his bow and arrows and went out singing a song, the gist of which was that he would like to meet the animal that killed his father and mother. The bear appeared, "Are you looking for me?" he asked. "Do you eat people," asked Tcikápis, "when you meet them?" "Oh no," said the bear, "I run away." "Then I don't want you," said Tcikápis. Other animals came and answered his questions in the same manner. At last came the "Kací'tos." "Are you looking for me?" he asked. "Do you eat people?" asked Tcikápis. "Yes," answered the animal. "How strong are you?" asked Tcikápis. "As strong as that Jackpine," said the animal pointing to a tree.

Tcikápis turned around and fired his arrow at the tree to try his strength. He shivered it to splinters. This frightened the animal who started to run away. Tcikápis hastened and picked up his arrow. The animal was out of sight, but Tcikápis fired where it had disappeared. He ran to the spot and found it dead, split from head to tail by his arrow. In its belly he

¹ This seems to refer to the fact that the inner stomach of the moose and caribou is sometimes used as a cooking utensil by the Eastern Cree.

² Moose Fort Cree. Told by Tom Bain, imperfect.

³ Narrated by Joe Iserhoff.

found the hair of his father and mother which he recognized by its color. He took it home to his sister.

One day Teikápis told his sister to set some hooks for fish. She did so. Then Teikápis took his bow, turned up, and got into it like a canoe, for he had the power to make himself very small or as large as a normal man. He went sailing along when up came a great fish. The fish was about to swallow Teikápis, canoe and all, when he said, "Swallow me whole, don't bite me." The fish did so and went away. Teikápis looked from the fish's stomach out of his mouth and saw the hook his sister had set. "What is that over there?" he said to the fish. The fish went to see and took the bait. Later Teikápis' sister pulled in the line and caught the fish. When she gutted it, out stepped Teikápis. His sister scolded him for this but he only laughed.

One time during the winter, Teikápis heard someone out on the ice, chiseling beaver. He said to his sister, "I am going out to help those people catch beaver." "Do not go," said his sister, "they are 'Big Fellows' (giants) and they are catching big beaver and they will get you to take hold of a beaver's tail and you will only be pulled in so they will laugh at you." "Never fear," said Teikápis, "I am going."

Teikápis made himself very small and went out to the river. The "Big Fellows" laughed at him and asked him to take hold of a beaver's tail and pull it out, because they expected to see him pulled in so that they could laugh at him. Teikápis took hold of a beaver's tail and pulled it out without difficulty. He threw it over his shoulder and walked away to his lodge. When the "Big Fellows" saw this, they shouted, "Here, bring back our beaver," Teikápis replied, "It is my beaver, I caught it."

When he reached home, his sister was frightened and said, "To-night the 'Big Fellows' will come and kill us." Teikápis only laughed and said, "I am not afraid of them." That night he changed his wigwam into stone. The "Big Fellows" came and tried to break it in, but it was solid rock and Teikápis only laughed at them.

One day Teikápis heard some girls scraping skin. He said to his sister, "I am going to see those girls." His sister said, "Do not do so, their mother eats people." But Teikápis was not afraid and went over where the girls were. There were two of them.

He began to make love to them, and very soon the old woman heard them talking and laughing. She came up, and Teikápis said to the girls, "Do you mind if I kill your mother?" The girls said, "No," for she killed all their lovers. Teikápis replied, "When she goes to cook me, tell her to sit close to the pot if she likes to see the grease come up."

Teikápis had a bladder full of grease under his coat, and when the old

woman threw him in the pot he let it bubble up. It began to boil soon. After a time, the girls said, "Mother, if you like to see the grease come up, sit closer to the pot." She did so, and Teikápis leaped out and scalded her to death. Then Teikápis went home and brought the girls with him. "Here are two girls, sister," he said, "to keep you company so that you will not be lonely any more." "What mischief have you been up to now?" said his sister. "Nothing," said Teikápis, "I have only killed the old woman and the girls said that they were willing I should do it."

Teikápis climbed up a tree one day. When he got on the top of the tree he began to blow on it, and it began to grow. It grew until it reached the sky. Teikápis got off, and there he found a beautiful path. (It was the road the sun traveled across the heavens every day.) Teikápis wondered what made this fine path, so he lay down to wait. Presently, the sun came along. "Get out of my way," said the sun to Teikápis. "Come on, and step over me," said Teikápis rudely.

The sun refused, but after some argument, finding Teikápis would not move, he came and stepped over him. It was so hot that it burned Teikápis, caribou skin coat. This made Teikápis very angry and he determined to be revenged so he set a snare for the sun. Next day, when the sun came along its path it was caught in the snare, and struggled to get loose. When it struggled there were great flashes of light and dark or day and night. This, of course, would not do, so Teikápis tried to let the sun loose, but it was so hot that it burned him when he went near it. At length, Teikápis persuaded the shrew who has a very long nose, to gnaw it loose.

After this, Teikápis decided to go up above to live. He descended and got his two wives and his sister. They all climbed into the tree, and Teikápis, began to blow on it. The tree grew higher and higher, so high that his sister and his two wives grew dizzy and they would fall off, but every time they fell off Teikápis would catch them and put them back again.

THE ADVENTURES OF TEIKÁPIS (Albany Version).¹

(While their parents were being devoured by brown bears, Teikápis and his sister escaped by climbing a tall tree where they could not be seen.)

Teikápis and his sister lived beside a lake. One day the sister told him not to go out on a tree leaning over the water, but Teikápis shot a bird and it fell into the water. In order to get it Teikápis climbed out on the tree to reach it and was devoured by a fish. By and by, his sister missed him and

¹ Narrated by Willie Archibald.

suspecting that the fish had eaten him she caught it with a hook. When she went to cut it up, Teikápis cried, "Slowly, slowly, or you will cut me." When Teikápis was released he said to her, "Don't scrape the (fish) slime off the top of my head and my upper lip, and the people who come later will have hair there."

The next day, Teikápis was hunting, he heard a noise and came home. His sister cried out, "It is the bears who killed our parents, don't go." Teikápis went, however, and killed the bears. He found his mother's braid of hair in one. He burned the carcasses.

Teikápis went out again the next day. Again, he heard a noise and returned. His sister said to him, "Don't go out, it is the noise made by giant women scraping beaver skins. The next day, Teikápis went out and saw the giant women at work. He shot a "Whisky Jack" (Canada jay) and dressed in its skin and flew about. He stole the grease the women had scraped off the skins. The giant women knew it was Teikápis, and one of them knocked him down with her scraper which she threw at him and killed him. Then they threw him into a kettle of boiling water and laughed as he whirled round and round. Teikápis was not really dead, however. Suddenly, he jumped out and scalded the people all to death.

Next day, Teikápis heard the giant men netting (chiseling) beaver under the ice. He made himself very small and went to them. The giants asked him to pull out a giant beaver by the tail, expecting him to be pulled in and drowned; he, however, succeeded, much to their surprise. Teikápis opened the sinew lining of his bow and put the beaver there. The giants shouted to him to bring it back, but he refused.

He gave the beaver to his sister to cook. While he was skimming the grease to eat from the pot where the beaver was boiling, the giants came with their war spears, to harpoon him, stabbing through his tent. Teikápis had a round, flat shell of spoon shape, he put it on his back and covered himself. The giants entered his wigwam but they could n't break the shell although they knew very well that Teikápis was under it. Then they threatened to take away his sister if he did n't come out, but he did not budge. They burned the tent and took away his sister.

When they had gone, Teikápis came out and strung his bow and followed them. He came up to them when they were crossing a swamp or muskeg. He said to his arrow, "Don't fall on those that are short, fall only on the tall ones." He fired the arrow which destroyed the giants but did not harm his sister.

Next day, Teikápis went out again. He found a fine path. He went home and told his sister. She said, "That is the path where the sun walks over night." Teikápis got some string from his sister and made a snare.

In the morning, when the sun came along it was caught. There was no daylight the next day. Teikápis did n't know what to think, but at last he got up and made the fire. Then he told his sister he had caught the sun. As it would not do to have perpetual darkness, Teikápis called all the animals together to release the sun by cutting the string. He asked the smaller animals to try first, thinking that they would be least apt to be burned. First he tried the ermine (weasel) but he was burned to death. At last he tried the shrew who succeeded in releasing the sun.

THE VIRGIN BIRTH.¹

Once, in the old days, there was a very beautiful girl who was a chief's daughter. All the young men made love to her *et cum ea coire volebant*. In those days, it was customary for *quisquan cum virgine coïseet* to also marry her. But she would have nothing to do with them.

In the village, there was a certain young boy who also loved her but he was so young that everybody laughed at him. However, during the winter he watched the girl, *et quondocumque mincture exiret eodem loco minxit*. After a time, the girl became pregnant from this cause, and gave birth to a child. The chief called all the young men together and when they had gathered in the wigwam he announced that he would pass the child about and when the father took the child in his arms *infantum in patrem mincturum*. This was done.

There was a certain young man in the village who loved the girl and he filled his mouth with spittle. When the child was passed to him he permitted it to run out all over him and cried, "I am the child's father, you can see in me *minxit*." But some in the crowd saw what he had done and they called out, "You lie," so he was disappointed. The child was passed on and when it reached its father *verum in illum minxit*.

Then the young boy took his wife and settled down. The rest of the people were angry (jealous) at him, and moved away, leaving him alone. He went hunting and was very successful. The rest of the people were not, however, and they nearly starved. At length, they heard he had meat and returned and begged for some.

THE BEAVER WIFE.

There was a man in the olden days who tried every female animal to see who was the smartest to work that he might keep her to live with him.

¹ Narrated by Joe Iserhoff.

He tried the deer (caribou) first, but she did not please him, so he sent her away. He next tried the wolf. She did not please him, as she was too wicked and greedy. He then came across the moose and did not like her. Then he tried the fisher but she did not please him either. He tried the marten and she did not please him. He tried the lynx and lived with her a while. She was smart but still she did not please him. He went off and lived with Otter but she was too funny and made too much noise. Then he thought he would try some of the flying animals. He tried the owls, but they did not care for his tent properly when he was away hunting, and besides they ate too much. As the whisky-jack (wiskateak, Canada jay) was always about him, he asked her if she could look after his tent. She said she could try it. She staid for a while; she was very cleanly and kept the tent decent.

One day, he told her he would go and hunt caribou and chisel beaver. She had everything ready, water and wood, when she expected him back. He came home in the evening and threw down his game (three or four beaver tied together) at the tent door. He came in without his game, as is customary among the Cree, and hearing the bundle fall she ran out to get it. It was so heavy that it broke her legs when she tried to lift it. She could n't rise so she told her husband and he brought in the beaver. He said he would get his bowstring and bind up her legs so that they would get well. He did so and she recovered. Ever afterwards, however, one can see the marks of the wrapping on the whisky-jack's legs. He continued to live with her until she got well, then he told her she could leave as the work was too hard for her.

One day, when he was walking about, he met Beaver cutting down a tree. She left her dwelling and came to him. She was very attentive and a good worker. She could do anything a man might wish; she could wash and dress fur well. When the man found she was so pleasing he asked her if she would become his wife and live with him.

Before she would promise she said to him, "It will be hard for me to do what you ask me, and hard for you too. There is only one condition under which I will live with you. As I live in the water and you on the dry land, you must never forget when crossing a little valley or creek to break down a stick and lay it across the water or else it will become a big river. You must promise never to forget this even when you are tired and in a great hurry, or the river will appear and we will be separated."

He lived with her for a while. At last, he became careless. One time, towards the spring (it was not yet summer) he was leading the way through the forest. She followed, hauling the tent utensils. At last, he crossed a valley that did not look as though water would ever run through it. He

thought "Surely this can never become a river," and put nothing there. He went on, found a suitable camping place, left his sled for his beaver wife to pitch the camp and went off hunting. When he returned he found his sled still there, and there was no sign of his wife. At once, he remembered his neglect to put the stick across the valley, but he could not believe this to be the cause of her absence. When she did not return he went back to the place where the omission occurred and there he found a great river and saw his wife swimming about in it building a beaver house. She had it already finished.

He began to cry for he was very fond of his wife and now he knew he had lost her. He begged her to come to see him but she would not come ashore and acted as though she was afraid of him. She told him to come to her. He did not know what to do, as he feared to drown. She said, "At first you'll find it hard, but if you dive down and come up inside the house, it is dry there."

At last, he thought to himself that he would try, although he was rather afraid. He swam out and she came to meet him. She told him where to dive and he followed her into the door, and came up on the inside where it was dry. He lived with her for a long time. He had to eat what she ate, willows and bark of trees. It was not very nice for him after eating meat and men's food. After a time, he began to become able to swim about and act like a beaver. Occasionally he went ashore and walked about. He learned to build beaver houses, but could not cut down a tree with his teeth as they did. For this, he used his ax which he brought with him. He lived with the beavers a good many years.

This man had a brother who missed him as the years went by. At last he dreamt what had become of his brother and went to look for him. Right enough, he found different signs where the beaver lived. Trees had been cut with an ax, etc. The brother could not find him, as he only came out at night when the beaver did and slept all day. The brother had to wait till winter, when he declared he would find him. When the middle of the winter arrived, the brother went off to find the lost man. The beaver man dreamed that his brother was coming and told his wife that this would happen and that they would soon be separated.

Sure enough, the brother came, and staked in the river on both sides of the houses. (The beavers had a lot of holes besides their houses; the beavers ran out and were caught. The beaver man who now had much of the nature of the beaver, told his wife to be careful, as he knew all about the nets having himself taken beaver in this way. He showed the beaver how to make holes in the bank which they never knew about before.)

At last, the brother found the holes in the bank and killed the beaver

wife in one of them. Later still, he found her husband. He was almost changed to a beaver with hair all over his body, like one. His brother knew him, however, and told him he had come for him and brought clothes for him to wear. So the man dressed up and went home with his brother. When they got there, the brother gave him something to eat.

The beaver man told him never to give him any of the meat of the female beaver to eat, for said he, "As sure as I eat a piece of the flesh of a female beaver, I'll turn into a beaver again, and you will never be able to get me back to a man again." After this he lived with mankind until he died.

THE BURNING OF THE WORLD.¹

Once all the world was burnt. Only a man, and his mother and sister were saved. Of course, there were a lot of people on earth before that. The surviving man fell out with his father, and at last they became enemies. At last, the young man heard that the earth was going to be burnt, but the father did not believe it would happen. So the young man made a bow and arrows and shot one arrow to the west, another to the east, another to the south, and another to the north. Thus using the spots where the arrows fell for corners, he marked out a large square patch of land, and whatever wanted to be saved could come on that ground. Some did not believe that the earth would be burnt. The old man and his wives and children did not believe that the earth would burn and also refused to come.

Sure enough, when the time came, they could hear the fire. They were camped by the side of a big lake. By and by, all the birds and animals came running to the patch of ground that was marked out, as that was the only patch of ground that was not on fire. When the old man saw he was going to burn too, he tried to get to the ground that his son had marked out. His son would not allow him to come on because he did n't believe that this would happen. So he and all of his family were burnt. Even the water was boiling it was so hot.

Of course, after all the fire was over, and the water was settled down again, there were only three people left in the world. The old man who was burnt only had two wives and only two children, one of whom was his son.

After the fire was over, there were lots and lots of animals on the patch of ground. The man named some of them. He put the beaver to live in the water. The rabbit wanted to be a beaver, but he would n't allow it. The rabbit even jumped into the water, but the man pulled him out and

¹ Rupert's House.

drained the water off him. He said his legs were too long and even if he did eat willows like a beaver, he could n't go about in the water properly.

The squirrel wished to be a bear. He did all he could to be a bear. The man said he would n't do, he was too noisy. He said, "If you were a bear, when people got numerous again, you will get thinned down too much. The bear must be a very canny animal and keep quiet; he has too many enemies." The squirrel began to weep. He wept a great deal, until his eyes were white. If you take notice the next time you see a squirrel you will notice that his eyes are bright and swollen from weeping. The man made the bear then because he was nice, and quiet and canny.

Somebody else wanted to be a deer (caribou) but I don't remember who it was, but the deer was put in too. The real deer was appointed because he was swift and could run from his enemies. After he was finished with the animals he put a mark on the people telling what they had to be called. They had to have new names after the world was burnt.

He called his mother Robin, because she was loving, that is what he meant I think; he called his sister golden winged woodpecker ("flicker," "clape," "high-holer") because that meant she was beautiful. He called himself Cluih duih-kiyu, blackbird, because he meant by this he would only come every spring. Each of them flew away wherever they wanted to travel. They did not stay together but they met again. That is all of this story I ever heard.¹

KÄNWÉO AND THE CANNIBALS.²

There were once two brothers. They lived well, but not upon people. Nearby was a tribe called Witigo (Cannibal). These people hunted in the ordinary manner but when they could, they killed and ate men. Once, in the summer, when the two brothers were traveling about together, they came upon the Cannibals first and were able to escape. Känwéo thought he would return and get the things he used for war, and prepare for battle. He returned and told his people they would have to get ready to fight or all be killed.

Känwéo began to conjure, and asked if he would be victorious if he went to war with the Cannibals. The spirits replied that if he had a mind to go he would be victorious. Känwéo at once got his people together. The

¹ There are, according to the narrator, other stories about Aiacciou, the elder, who was burnt.

² Rupert's House.

Cannibals always lived together. The people at once began to get their war spears and "sword arrows"¹ etc., together and started out.

Känwéo prepared to attack the Cannibals slyly not intending to let them know before he tackled them. There was a big hill there, just at the back of the place where the Cannibals were staying. Känwéo told his men to go up on top of this hill to watch first. He told his men, "We will watch to see when they are not ready and then we will attack them."

The next day the Cannibals began to build sweat houses and he said, "Now is the time to go down upon them slyly." None of the Cannibals had anything ready. Känwéo and his men ran down and began to spear them as they ran out of the sweat houses. Some of the Cannibals burned themselves on the hot stones. It was a dreadful fight. Some of them escaped. Of course, he did not kill the women and children. The great warrior, Känwéo, was driven back towards the water where the giants (the Cannibals were very large, they say) were attempting to escape by canoes. There were two or three attacking him, but he backed away and fell into a canoe. He thought he was finished, but he managed to get up and killed all those who were attacking him.

There was one old man, who was a chief, and his sons, among the cannibals. He was not killed and was escaping with his children in the canoe. Känwéo saw him and ran right out in the water to him and gripped the head of the canoe but the water was too deep and he could not hold it. His own canoe was hidden a long way off.

All the women and children of the Cannibals escaped. Whether there were any of Känwéo's party killed is not known, but a great many of the Cannibal giants were killed. The Känwéo stopped and went back to his place again. He lived there with his brother and they went about as usual.

One winter, his brother went off to hunt in another direction. The brothers came upon the Cannibals again and they killed him when they came on him unawares. They took his wife and children alive.

Next summer, where the brothers had appointed to meet, there was no sign of the brother and Känwéo learned from other Indians what had happened to his brother. Känwéo thought to have his revenge on account of his brother but he did n't know where the Cannibals were. Some time after that he thought to himself he would try and find out. It was winter and he was living alone with his family. One day he was off hunting. Before he went off that morning he told his wife he was sure to meet somebody that day. He put on his oldest and worst clothes and made himself very miserable looking. Right enough, he went off that day. He was looking for

¹ A "sword arrow" is one having a pointed pile, or head, set in the shaft.

beaver, trying to find where the beaver were. He took nothing with him except his chisel to bore the ice. He came to a place where there were beaver, where the beaver were lodging. He came to a beaver house and cuttings near by. He looked at the house and then went down to see if he could find the dam where they had shut up the creek.

As he was going along down the creek he saw someone coming up stream. He knew now this was the man he was expecting to see. This was the old man who had escaped from him two or three years before in the battle with the Cannibals. The old man was looking for beaver too, and had only his chisel with him. This was the same man who had killed his brother. Kānwéo pretended he did not see the Cannibal and the Cannibal who saw Kānwéo did likewise. They drew together, the Cannibal thinking he would knock Kānwéo down and kill him before Kānwéo saw him. Kānwéo knew what the Cannibal was about to do and when he approached pushed him away, saying, "Don't you see me? Look out where you are going." The Cannibal lied, and said, "Oh, I did not see you." Then they began to talk like friends.

Kānwéo told the old man he was looking for beaver, and the old man said he was doing the same. They had just met you see, at the dam, and Kānwéo asked the old man, "Where are you thinking of going?" The old man replied that he thought of going where the beaver were. Kānwéo told the old man that they would come there and chisel the beaver together the next day. The Cannibal said that he had three sons who would come along with him too. The great warrior Kānwéo told the old man to tell his sons to cut sticks to stake in the river and when they were to carry the sticks down to the river they were not to wear their snowshoes but beat the path with their feet. After they had planned what they were going to do, they separated, and each went back to his own place.

When Kānwéo came home, he had some dry beaver outside his tent and he took four in with him and told his wife to cook them. He said, "We must try to finish all that beaver to-night." He was making a feast so that he might be prosperous to kill his enemy. "We must try to finish these before daylight," he told her after they were cooked.

He told his family that he had met someone and they had planned to chisel beaver together. He told them they might come, but not with him. They began to feast. He told them if they managed to finish the feast they might be able to overcome the enemy.

Next morning, he got out his war tools, his spear, etc., and went off, his family following behind. He told them to make camp at a certain place that he would mark which was not close to where he was going to have the battle. Kānwéo went there first, before the rest, where the beaver were.

He marked the creek where they were going to stake it in. Then he saw the old man coming with his sons. When the sons saw him they said to their father, "We are sure that man must be the one called Känwéo who used to fight with us." They were afraid, for they knew he had something against them as they had killed his brother and held his wife a prisoner.

Känwéo was in charge of the beaver. He told the young men where to go to cut the sticks. He told them to leave their snowshoes down by the creek and beat the path in their moccasins, so they would not make much noise. Then he said to the old man, "We'll chisel the ice, make a trench right across the ice to put down the sticks." Känwéo had a chisel with a blade at each end, that he could turn as he liked to see which chisel was sharpest. The old man was chiseling and Känwéo told him to make the hole big in one place in the middle of the river where they were to set the net. Känwéo would turn his chisel now and again to see which end was sharper.

Every time Känwéo would turn his chisel the old man was afraid and would jump. "You seem to be afraid," said Känwéo, "every time I turn my chisel." "Oh, no," said the old man, "I'm not afraid, but I very nearly slipped." At last, they had the hole big enough, and Känwéo told the old man to skim the ice out of the hole. The old man sat down on his knees to do this and Känwéo knew that the hole was big enough. All at once, when the old man was not thinking, Känwéo stabbed him in the back, with his chisel and threw him under the water. The old man managed, however, to give a shout as he was going under, and the young men, who were cutting sticks heard it. The old man struggled beneath the ice for a moment, and very nearly burst the ice through it was so thick. When Känwéo saw the old man was killed, he took his bow and arrow.

The young men came running to the creek when they heard their father call. Känwéo took his bow and arrow and shot at the young men when they tried to escape. He killed two when they were putting on their snowshoes, but the third got his snowshoes on. Känwéo, however, managed to shoot him before he got very far. The family of Känwéo soon came up and soon after came the Cannibal's family. When they heard that the old man was dead, they began to cry, but Känwéo did not harm them. At last, the old man's wife came up, but when she saw the others crying, she refused to believe her husband was dead, for she did not believe any one could overcome him.

Känwéo told her to come and see the old man's body which Känwéo had pulled to the hole they had made. He was not on the ice but his head was out of the water. Känwéo used his body as one of the stakes to shut

up the creek. Then the old woman believed and became angry. She attempted to make an end of Känwéo. She got her big ax off the sled and was going to kill him with that. Of course, Känwéo knocked her ax away, and he took her ax from her and knocked her down. He told her she had to die, and with the same ax with which she wanted to strike him he struck her and killed her.

Känwéo's sister-in-law was there, a prisoner, and she wanted to come and live with him. She did n't want to stay with them any more. Känwéo would not allow her to come. "I've heard," he said, "you helped them kill your husband. I don't want to have anything more to do with you." He let the other go and she had to return with them. That is the end of this story.

ORIGIN OF THE RACES OF MAN.¹

When the "Great Spirit" decided to make man, he built an oven, and having moulded a man of clay, he put him in to bake. He was not baked enough and came out white. He tried again but this time the clay was baked too long, and came out black, and the negro was the result. He tried a third time, and behold he had a perfect man, an Indian, "baked just right." This is why the various races of people have different colors.

THE WOLF AND THE OTTER.²

Once a female otter was coming out of her hole in the day time. A long way off, opposite the mouth of the burrow, she saw Wolf approaching, "Hai," she called, and Wolf stopped and looked. "Hello," said he. "What is that you are holding behind you?" asked Otter. "That is my tenting," replied Wolf. "Hai, that is your dirty stinking tail you are holding." "Hai, Otter," said Wolf, "if you don't mind how you talk to me, I'll break up your holes." "Not you, I've got a lot of holes, you cannot break them all." Then Otter ran in under the ground singing in the otter language, which is said to resemble Ojibway.

"Teukawan nipekau méwa"

There are a lot of holes.

"Teukawan nipekau méwa."

"Teukawan nipekau méwa."

Until he was out of sight.

¹ Obtained from Rev. Robert Rennison, Episcopal missionary at Moose Factory, who in turn collected it from old Chief Solomon, an Albany Cree. It is said to be a well-known Albany Cree story.

² Albany Cree.

Then Wolf came up and broke up the first hole. Then he saw the second hole and broke that. Then he saw the third and broke that. Meanwhile, the water was freezing and Otter could not come up. Then Wolf broke all the holes but the last one. When he came to this one, Otter came up and cried, "Have mercy and I will marry you." Wolf bit Otter's head off and killed her.

THE LEGEND OF STAG ROCK.¹

A giant was once hunting a mythical big beaver up the Nottoway River. The beaver escaped down the river, so he followed it. It fled faster than he could keep up with it as he ran along the shore. At last, the beaver gained so much on the giant that it left him out of sight. When, however, he reached the mouth of the river he could see the beaver swimming away in the distance out in James Bay. He realized that he could not possibly catch it and this made him so angry that he seized a great rock and hurled it at his quarry. It fell short, however, but landed with a great splash in the water, where it (Stag Rock) may yet be seen.

THE STARS THAT MARRIED SISTERS.²

Two stars, large and bright, married two sisters. The girls were very unhappy however, since they only saw their husbands at night and never in the day time. (These stars can be identified, but the narrator did not know them.)

A CONJURING STORY.³

My grandfather, who is now dead, claimed to have once killed a man by conjuring. He drove the geese from No Man's Land to East River, by magic. While he was doing this, he sat in his canoe. A voice spoke to him, and said, "Look out, there is a stranger coming." Instantly, a little bird dropped on his breast and he became unconscious. When he came to, two men were working over him. He took up the bird. There was mud.

¹ Moose and Rupert's House Cree. Stag rock is a large rocky island which is prominently situated in James Bay not far from the mouth of the Nottoway (Iroquois) River off the East Coast.

² Rupert's House Cree, a fragment.

³ Tales of personal prowess as conjurors are in great favor among the Eastern Cree, where with hunting and animal stories ranking second, they seem to take the place of the martial stories of the Plains and Woodlands. While very abundant and popular, one is here given as it is typical enough to give an idea of all those heard. It is from the Albany Cree.

He knew at once it came from Osnaburg (a Hudson's Bay Company Post), and who sent it. He placed more mud on it and sent it back. Next spring he heard the man who had sent it was dead.

THE CANNIBALS.¹

Once there was an old man and his son who used to go about killing and eating people. At last, they came to one family who was very poor and was starving. Then the young man said, "Father, I'll stay here and go off and hunt for the people. We will fatten them up and kill them." His father said it was well. The young man hunted for three days and all the deer's meat he got he gave to those people. He stayed with them for a week. One day, he went off and found his father. He told him he had seen a big tent full of people which he had not entered. His father said, "We will go to-morrow morning to see them." The young man told the people he was living with that they were to eat heartily and grow fat. "We will come once a week to see you and how you are getting along."

They went away then, the father and son, and camped close to the big tent. They did not approach it until night when everyone was asleep. Then they killed half of the people and ate them. The rest escaped. The two cannibals stayed at the same place. The man they left kept on eating and drying the meat they gave him. Once a week the old cannibal visited him and saw that he and his wife and children were growing fat.

Now the man became afraid. He continued to dry meat as before, but he dug a hole under the snow for he knew that the cannibals were fattening him in order to kill him. The next week, the old man came. "You are getting fat now," he said. "Next week my son and I will visit you again." "All night, I'll be here," said the man and all that week he collected dry meat and wood and snow to make water. Then he barricaded the door with brush. He took in his drum and sang and thumped all night praying for bad weather. The very first morning a heavy snow-storm fell covering his fort completely. The next night the man conjured again for rain to make a hard crust over the snow. It came, and then he conjured for more snow drifts. Again, the snow fell and he was covered over as hard as a rock where he was hidden. The time for the next visit of the cannibals was now at hand. When they came they could not find him.

The old cannibal dug a hole in the snow to seek them for he knew from his medicine that they must be near by. He could not find them although

¹ Albany Cree.

he and his son were right over their victims. Then the cannibal people left the place and went off in the opposite direction. The Indians stayed in the snow until the spring thaws released them. The cannibals soon found another family where there were two grown-up sons whose medicine was very strong. These two sons knew before the cannibals came that they were approaching and one hid on the river bank and the other in the brush. Sure enough, the two cannibals came in the night along the river. "There are strangers coming," he called out. At once the cannibal and his son fell on the snow and lay there hidden intending to make an unexpected attack late that night. They were surprised for they did not think anyone was waiting for them. Then the other brother went out and both went to see the two cannibals. They said to the strangers, "You are just in time to help us chisel beaver." Then the old man said, "I am too old to chisel beaver but my son can go with you, I'll stay in the tent." So then the three went to a lake. There were no beaver there at all. They all sat on the edge of the lake.

The youngest brother said, "Let us make a big hole in the ice in the middle of the lake. Then we will have a wrestling match, and whoever gets worsted, will be thrown into the hole and drowned. They had no axes or anything but a sharpened caribou leg bone tied on a stick for a chisel. The two brothers began to chisel and the cannibal sat and looked on. "Make it big, narrow and long, just the length of a man, so that when you throw a man, he'll just go in," said he. The two Indians did as they were told. Then the two brothers said slyly to each other, "Who'll try him first?" "I will," said the youngest. "You can't master him," said the older. "I will try any way," said the younger. "We are all ready now," said they to the cannibal at last. The young cannibal jumped up. The younger brother tried twice to throw the cannibal but could not put him in the hole. "Let me try," said the older. So they threw the cannibal in the hole and the younger brother struck him with his ice chisel as he went down and he was killed. Then they went back. They had a war club. The old man was sitting with his legs crossed. They struck his legs and broke them with a single blow. Then they said, "We have killed your son." Then they killed him too.

THE LEGEND OF IROQUOIS FALLS.

Nistupuhom, Iroquois Falls, a war party of Iroquois¹ attacked and killed the Cree. They took one woman prisoner for a guide. They asked her if they could run a rapid and she said that she could. At Iroquois Falls

¹ Notohowéyo, "men coming to us by water in canoes."

she told them that they could shoot it, if the women and goods were taken out to lighten the canoe. They let her out and when she arrived at the other end of the portage they set out. She saw them try to escape when they saw the dangerous spot but they could not. They headed their canoe towards the falls and sang their war songs. They were all drowned. One tried to escape from an eddy, and the woman shoved him out when he tried to land and he drowned.

II. THE NORTHERN SAULTEAUX.

The Ojibway Indians are one of the best known and most widely distributed tribes of the Algonkin stock. The territory over which they formerly roamed extended from the Niagara River on the east to the neighborhood of Central Montana on the west, and from the northern part of Wisconsin and Michigan north about half way to Hudson's Bay. They may be divided into several distinct bands, differing considerably both culturally and dialectically. They all probably spring from a common base, perhaps somewhere southwest of Lake Superior whence they have radiated in every direction except southward. As this paper is intended to deal primarily with but a small portion of this people, occupying a definite area, further discussion of their origin and number, may be dispensed with, with the exception of an enumeration of the great divisions of the Ojibway and a few remarks on some of their peculiarities: —

1. The Ojibway proper, closely related to the central Algonkin, occupying Minnesota, Northern Wisconsin, and Upper Michigan. A semi-nomadic hunting and fishing people, possessed of some agriculture, wild rice gatherers, builders of bark houses, as well as of conical wigwams, warlike.¹

2. The Chippewa of lower Michigan and Southeastern Ontario, more sedentary in their habits, agricultural, build bark cabins, once possessors of a false face ceremony possibly derived from the Iroquois,² probably considerably under Huron-Iroquois influence, warlike.³

3. The Southern Saulteaux inhabiting the north shore of Lake Superior, allied in habits with the Ojibway proper, non-agricultural, non-warlike dwellers for the most part in conical wigwams, nomadic, scaffold burials, sometimes cannibalistic when under provocation.

4. The Northern Saulteaux are an off-shoot of the former who have lost many southern traits and have acquired others from the Eastern Cree, very often cannibalistic in times of scarcity, subterranean burials.

5. The Plains Saulteaux, or "Long Plains Ojibway," dwell west of Lake Winnipeg, information lacking, but probably like the Northern Plains Algonkin.

As will be seen, the Northern Saulteaux form the most isolated band of

¹ Jones, (b), 36.

² The writer's mother when a child once saw a dance or ceremony of the Missisauga in which masks were worn. These masks were made of deerskin, and their eyes and mouths were bound with red flannel. This was at Owen Sound on Georgian Bay, Lake Huron.

³ Jones, Peter 138.

the Ojibway. They occupy the region north of Lake Superior and east of Lake Winnipeg congregating at the Hudson's Bay Company Posts of Lac Seul, Osnaburgh House on Lake St. Joseph, Fort Hope on Lake Eabamet with its outposts at Wébiqué and the headwaters of the Attiwapiscat, Martens Falls on the Albany, and Māmāmātau, or English River Post. Possibly the Indians at New Post and Lake Abittibi also belong to this division. Owing to outside influences, it can hardly be said that they present the most typical examples at the first and last-named places.

The Northern Saulteaux call themselves "Otcipwéo" and recognize no difference between their division and the other bands. They are non-warlike and have always been on terms of intimacy with the Europeans and the Cree. They remember that the Sioux used to raid their territory, descending the Albany River they claim, to the Cree country. Perhaps however, they refer to the Iroquois who also attacked them and were more given to such extended raids.

The number of the Northern Saulteaux on the Government annuity rolls is:— Lac Seul, 800; Fort Hope,¹ 550; Martens Falls, 112; English River, 65, making a total of 1527.

Near the Canadian Pacific Railroad and for some distance northward, the more southern Saulteaux may be encountered. They are markedly different in physical appearance from those of the northern interior. Most of them are tall and well built, appear more intelligent, and look and act more like the Indians of whom we are accustomed to think. Perhaps, it is owing to the hard physical conditions encountered by the northern bands, that they appear for the most part short, squat, and stunted. They are not particularly intelligent, nor do they present the more general and characteristic aquiline features of the southern bands. They are dark in complexion, so much so that the Eastern Cree look positively pale beside them and one may at once pick out a wandering Cree among their bands or vice versa. Their personal habits are far more filthy than those of the Cree; but they are perhaps a shade more moral. Sanitation even of the simplest kind is absolutely unknown and any infectious disease, such as smallpox or syphilis would sweep them away in short order.

¹ Eighty died during the La Grippe epidemic of 1908-9.

HABITATIONS.

Three general types of lodges are in use among the Saulteaux. They are the round or dome-shaped, the conical, and the rectangular "pent roof" forms. The first of these is quite common. The foundation is made of a number of poles or saplings arched over and bent down to the ground. The first sapling is bent over, say from east to west, and the others cross it from north to south. Others are bent over these, the size of the arc decreasing towards the outside with each sapling put in place. This framework is covered with birchbark or brush. A fireplace about six inches high and two feet square is built of stone in the center of the lodge and a hole is made in the roof immediately over it to emit the smoke.

The Conical Lodge. In building the conical lodge the number of poles is not fixed nor is there any taboo against counting them during their erection as among the Eastern Cree. The foundation is of four poles crotched at one end. The crotches are placed together and the poles made to stand without tying. When crotched sticks cannot be obtained, the poles are lashed together. After the foundation has been erected, other poles are placed about them until the complete wigwam frame is made. In former times, this skeleton was often covered with skins, but unlike the Cree, the Northern Saulteaux never decorated them with painted designs. Birchbark is frequently used as a roofing for lodges of this type although it is being superseded by canvas. The bark is cut from the trees in long strips. These are fastened together with willow roots to form long rolls and sticks are sewed across the ends to prevent the bark from splitting. Several rolls are required to cover a lodge, the number varying according to the size desired. The bark is occasionally decorated by dyeing and scratching parallel bands of light and dark upon it. The apex of the frame of the conical lodge is usually left bare of the bark in order that the smoke may escape but the upper roll usually has a long pole attached to each end and reaching to the ground, so that if rain sets in the inhabitants may go out and close the smoke hole to prevent the rain from entering. These poles are known as the "ears" of the lodge.

After the covering has been placed, more poles are usually laid over it to hold it down. While traveling from Lac Seul to Lake St. Joseph, the writer observed a wooden wigwam in a deserted winter camp. It was conical in shape and smaller in size than most of the ordinary lodges seen and was built of split poles set on end, the chinks being closed with moss.

In the dome-shaped and conical lodges, the place of honor for a guest was called "wékwordésen", or "the center of the side", and was at the back

of the lodge opposite the door, and as far away from it as possible. There seem to be no technical names for other parts of the lodge. The so-called tent-shaped, or two-fire house, was a more pretentious affair than the preceding types, and resembled the long houses of the East. This form had rectangular sides and a triangular roof. The foundation was built of poles lashed together. It was covered with bark or brush and had a door, a fireplace, and a smoke hole at each end. The place of honor was on either side in the middle and as far from the doors as possible. Four families lived in such a house, one in each corner. It was considered a breach of good manners for a member of any family to enter or leave by the door opposite his end or even to step over the imaginary line which set off the space occupied by each family. There were no partitions, and the occupied corners were not marked off.

Adherence to the rules concerning the imaginary boundaries was very strict. In a typical lodge where four families resided, a man dwelling in one end on his return from a hunting trip, must proceed to the end of the lodge where he lived and whence he made his exit, even though he first came to the opposite end of the house and convenience pointed it out as his natural place of entrance. While nothing definite in regard to these divisions, as based on clan or totemic differences of the inhabitants, could be learned, it was admitted that the occupants of a two-fire house were generally four related families. The two families dwelling in one end and using a door and fireplace in common were usually in closer touch socially; but this did not prevent a strong resentment being shown towards any one who even accidentally stepped over the boundary. Probably this rule could be abrogated by permission of the others, but the enforced entrance of the lodge of each family by its own door was immutable. Skins were used as doors. These were fastened to the upper part of the door opening and weighted at the bottom with a stick which kept them from blowing about. When skins were scarce, mats of woven reeds or cedar bark, took their place. In a two-fire lodge, if meat was obtained, it was smoked on a scaffold over one of the two fires.

Sweating Lodge or Sudatory. Though properly belonging here, the sweating lodge or sudatory will be described elsewhere. It was built like the conjuring lodge and made as air-tight as possible. A detailed account will be found under the head of medical practices (p. 161).

Conjuring Houses. The house used by the conjuror was of the dome-shaped type and differed from the ordinary dwelling in that it had neither a door nor a smoke hole. In former times, during the biennial ceremonies of the midéwin, a booth of willows and brush, oval in shape and without a roof was built for the ceremony but no good description of this could be obtained.

CLOTHING AND TOILETTES.

It is apparent that a considerable change in the style of clothing has come about since the advent of the more northern bands into the region they now occupy. From Lac Seul southward into Minnesota, the old time man's clothing was made of smoked tanned buckskin, caribou, and occasional woven rabbitskin coats and hoods. The costume consisted of plain moccasins, skin-tight leggings with a fringe running along the seam down the outside of the leg. In some cases, instead of a leather fringe dangling feathers were used for this purpose. A breechclout was worn but the shirt was not used. The clout was often ornamented with porcupine quills, which were generally dyed blue. A leather cap, conical in shape and hanging down in a flap over the neck, completed the costume. Some of these caps had a draw string under the chin to hold them in place. The winter dress was the same as that worn in summer except that a coat and mittens of woven rabbitskin were added to the costume.

In summer, the women wore a single piece sleeveless dress of leather. It was shaped somewhat like the skin garments of the Indian women of the Plains and extended from the shoulders to below the knees. It was held up by a string over the shoulders, and was low-necked in front. The sleeves were separate pieces, fastened on by thongs in front and the rear, which were tied together across the back and chest. They were larger at the shoulder than at the wrist. A belt of skin went about the waist. Typical short squaw leggings were bound on below the knee, and these, with moccasins completed the outfit. Wrist bands of otter, mink, or muskrat skin are sometimes worn. This is also true of the northern bands.

Like the men, for winter wear, the women added a rabbitskin coat reaching to the waist with a separate hood and mittens of the same material. Sometimes, in lieu of a coat, a small rabbitskin blanket was fastened, like a cape, around the shoulders.

The clothing of the children was the same as that of adults except, of course, in regard to size. A custom also found by the writer among the Delaware, Iroquois, and Winnebago was noted. Holes made in the soles of moccasins of very young children were explained as follows: — As a young child recently born is fresh from the spirit land it is very likely to be enticed to come back by the spirits (to die). If however, the holes are cut in the soles of the shoes, it is obliged to tell the spirits that its moccasins are in no condition for it to journey over the long road which separates the present from the hereafter.

North of Lac Seul, from Lake St. Joseph to the headwaters of the Attawapiscat and Martens Falls on the Albany, a decided change was apparent in the clothing of the men. In both winter and summer, the man's costume consisted of skin-tight fringeless leggings, breechclout, coat, and separate hood of rabbitskins. In the winter, mittens and moccasins of the same material were sometimes added, but the latter were only worn for special purposes. The woman's costume was the same as that worn by the more southern bands. The women sometimes wore, in winter, a skirt of rabbitskin, presumably made by lapping a rabbitskin blanket around the waist and allowing it to fall over a belt, open in front or at one side. A hood of the same material and a coat of marten or lynx skins with the fur inside was sometimes added.

The writer believes that this variation in costume may be explained by the fact that when the Saulteaux pushed forward into the northern area where they may now be found, the exigencies of the colder climate required a warmer type of clothing, at least for the men, who were obliged to spend the greater part of their time out-of-doors hunting during the winter season. The women, on the contrary, who remained in the wigwam most of the time did not find such a change of clothing necessary and the old skin garments were more largely retained. This seems to be borne out by the fact that on Lake St. Joseph, where rabbitskin garments were formerly worn both in summer and winter by the Saulteaux, costumes of buckskin were dimly remembered by the older men. Another interesting fact, further brought out by investigation among Eastern Cree, is that when the Northern Saulteaux first met them (south of Fort Albany in all probability) the latter only manufactured blankets, coats, and hoods of rabbitskin. The Ojibway learned this art from them and proceeded to invent leggings, clouts, and moccasins of the same material which were in turn copied from them by the Albany Cree among whom these articles may still occasionally be found although the Cree of Eastmain and Rupert's House and possibly of Moose Fort did not know of these garments.

Conservatism in costume prevails among children. One may often see them wearing old-fashioned garments when the adults have entirely discarded them.

After the advent of the Europeans, the introduction of strouds, duffels, silks, and beads altered conditions considerably. At first, the Indian type of dress was largely adhered to and the cloth, which was generally blue or white strouds was cut after the fashion of the older garments. Leggings were shaped like trousers, but broad at the top and narrow at the bottom, and sometimes beaded or ornamented. Breechclouts, blankets, capotes, (no shirts), and angular beaded caps became the style for men. Garters,

usually beaded or ornamented, were fastened below the knee on the outside more for appearance than for use. The women wore dresses of strouds made after the old style with separate sleeves and belts. Their leggings were also cut after the former fashion but were heavily beaded along the bottom. Almost all clothing, both of the ancient and the transition period has been discarded, with the exception of occasional rabbitskin costumes which are still worn by invalids, or during winter by healthy persons. Nowadays, both men and women wear European clothing purchased from the traders, often ill-fitting or loudly colored. Beadwork is poor and scarce and porcupine quill work has been utterly discarded. In former times, some of the northern bands in contact with the Eastern Cree, like them, kept special clothes for warlike purposes; but the more southern bands used old clothes for going to war so that their best garments might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

In concluding, no description of the costume of the Saulteaux is complete without some special reference to the several styles of moccasins known

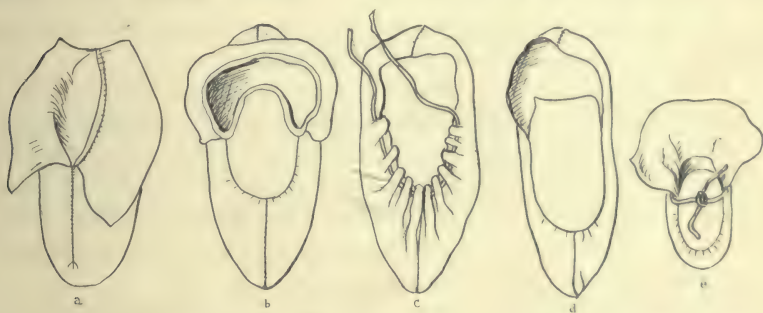


Fig. 41 *a* (50-4806), *b* (50-7983), *c* (50-7967), *d* (50-8073), *e* (50-1939). Types of Saulteaux Moccasins.

among them. Formerly, moccasins known as "wolverene shoes" were worn (Fig. 41e). These did not possess the seam over the toe, and the vamp was much larger than that now used. Like the other old styles they were without ornamentation. Another ancient type, now obsolete, had flaps at the ankle (Fig. 41a) and a seam over the instep from toe to sole. Another low, summer form (Fig. 41b) was like the common modern type but lacked the vamp, and ankle flaps. When caribou, moose, or buckskin was not to be obtained, moccasins of sturgeon skin (Fig. 41c) were sometimes used as makeshifts. In winter, when traveling over bare and slippery ice, shoes made of woven rabbitskin were worn. These differ in shape from those used by the Eastern Cree.

Nowadays, the Saulteaux wear the modern variety (Fig. 41d) of which a

number of specimens were collected. These are made in both high and low styles. The seam runs from the toe over the instep to the vamp which is usually decorated. The ankle flap is adorned with beads or quills. Some types have a high flap at the ankle bound above, if with thongs. This is made either of leather or of cloth and perhaps this type was derived from the Cree since they claim it as aboriginal.

It will be observed, that unlike the tribes farther to the south and north, the Saulteaux clothing was entirely utilitarian and no attempt was made to render it beautiful.

Method of Wearing the Hair. At the present time, the women generally wear the hair in a braid down the back, but some prefer two braids. When two braids are worn they are usually brought forward over the shoulders and allowed to hang over the breasts. The hair is sometimes, although rarely, worn loose and flowing, caught at the nape of the neck with a thong or bit of twine. Some form the hair into two tight braids and coil them flat in a sort of mat on the back of the head. The head is often covered with a silk handkerchief knotted under the chin, but the women by no means cover their heads as frequently as do the Eastern Cree. The Saulteaux women are also said to eradicate their pubic hair.

In former times, the men permitted their hair to hang loose. Now, they usually cut it like the Europeans, or crop it at the shoulders. In the latter case, a snake skin is sometimes bound about the brows, like a fillet, or a handkerchief is placed over the head and knotted at the corners like a skull cap. Scalplocks never seem to have been cultivated. Beards and mustaches are common, even among full-bloods. They are prized because they heighten the wearer's resemblance to a European.

Personal Ornamentation. Unlike the Eastern Cree, who formerly practised both tattooing and scarification for the purposes of adornment, the Saulteaux claim that they never used this form of decoration and had only facial and perhaps body paintings. The writer observed an old woman at Fort Hope who had a simple bilaterally symmetrical cross tattooed on each cheek, as a charm against toothache and headache, and learned that similar symbols were placed on the legs and wrists to ward off rheumatism. This may be a custom which found its origin in the teachings of the Roman Catholic missionaries who have a church at this post, rather than a purely aboriginal idea. Tattooing was performed by charring birchbark or wood and rubbing it on a thread which is fastened to a needle and the design sewed under the skin, the pigment making it permanent. Abitei-ininis, an old man residing at Dinorwic stated that facial paintings were generally used by young men to attract the attention of the women, and not for war-like purposes. These figures were continually renewed until they answered

the purpose of a permanent design. They were generally done in red, which was the favorite color for the purpose. The paint was obtained from the hematite iron ore common in that vicinity. No further information in this regard was obtainable among the more northern bands, save that ceremonial paintings, other than for warlike purposes were once common.

Labrets were unknown to the Northern Saulteaux. Nose rings are of recent date, having been introduced when the Hudson's Bay Company placed metallic rings suitable for this purpose within the reach of the Indians. The custom is now obsolete. When earrings were worn, the ears were pierced, or rather slit, by holding the ear against a block of wood and cutting along the cartilaginous outer rim for an inch or more with a piece of sharp flint. When the openings were healed, pieces of marten skin were suspended through them.

MANUFACTURES.

Tanning. Among the Saulteaux, the process of tanning both with and without the hair is practically the same. After the animal has been killed, the skin is first fleshed with a bone flesher (Fig. 42). This implement is usually made of a leg bone of the caribou or moose, and is usually untoothed;



Fig. 42 (50-7458). Cree skinning Tool.¹

although serrated fleshers are considered to be better implements for the purpose, for some reason the smooth implement is the most favored. In fleshing, the scraper is held in the hand with the edge towards the user.

¹ By mistake of the Editor, the wrong specimen was taken for this drawing. However, the Saulteaux flesher is of the same general form with a wedge or chisel-like edge, but a portion of the joint remains on one specimen in the collection, quite similar to Fig. 34d, Vol. V, 69, a widely distributed Plains type. As this joint seems to serve no practical purpose its occurrence among the Saulteaux and not among the Eastern Cree, suggests cultural contact with Plains tribes.—Ed.

The implement is struck with a downward motion to remove the fat and meat.

If leather is to be made, the skin is next drawn over a stick set obliquely in the ground with the elevated end towards the user. The bark is removed from the upper part where the skin is placed and the wood is carefully smoothed down. The skin is then drawn taut over this surface and a beaming tool, made from the leg bone of one of the ruminants, is brought to bear on it. It is held like a draw shave and is pushed away from the body against the grain of the skin. This part of the process is carried on as far as possible from the wigwam on account of the litter made by the hair when it is removed. In passing, it may be said, that in this process, both men and women do the work. There seems to be little or no division of work by sex among these people.

After the hair has been removed, the skin is rubbed thoroughly with brains and grease. This composition is made of animal brains of any kind

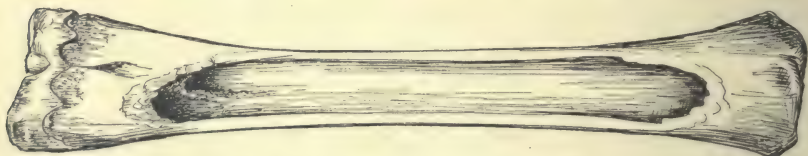


Fig. 43 (50-7937). A Beaming Tool.

cooked and mixed with grease which may be kept indefinitely in a liquid state in a pot or kettle. After the brains have been rubbed in, the skin is dried before the fire. Then it is soaked in water for a time and again dried. During the drying process, it is pulled by two people in order to make it pliable. After this the skin is sewed in the shape of a bag and smoked. It is suspended from the middle of a pole frame made by arching over two sticks, or from a tripod. It is swung with the open end downwards and under this is hung a small pot or kettle containing rotten wood or punk. This is ignited and smoke is made but no flame is allowed to form. The open end of the skin bag is protected from injury from the fire by a band of cloth sewed about it. Skins are rarely tanned in summer; unless the hunter's lodge and tools are near at hand. For tanning with the hair, the process is the same, except that after the skin is scraped, the beaming tool is not used. Bear skins are stretched but are never tanned nor are the furs gathered for trade, cured except by scraping and drying.

Sturgeon skin to be used for moccasin-making and other purposes is removed and dried. It is kept in this condition indefinitely. When wanted for use it is soaked in water to render it pliable.

Weaving and Sewing. The more southern Sauteaux used thorns for needles, the eyes of which were pierced by burning. The northern branch used the penis bone of the marten, which has a natural perforation and needs only sharpening for use. By preference sinew is used for thread and was obtained in several ways from various animals. The tendons of the wings of partridge and ptarmigan were drawn out and spliced together and furnished good thread or snare twine. Sewing sinew is also obtained from the tail of the beaver, fox, muskrat, and fisher, where it is very fine and long, and from the back of the caribou, moose, and deer, where it is taken from an area between the shoulder and the rump on either side of the spine. From these animals it comes in fibrous pieces varying in length according to the size and species of the animal, and an inch or more broad. When sinew cannot be obtained the bark or roots of certain species of willow is twisted and shredded by rolling on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Two thin shreds or fibers of willow bark are sometimes twisted together by rolling between the fingers to serve as twine. For sewing birchbark, spruce root (watap) is used. This is split into the proper size and boiled until it is flexible. Bark is sewed in making vessels or canoes



Fig. 44 (50-7977).
Needle and Thread.

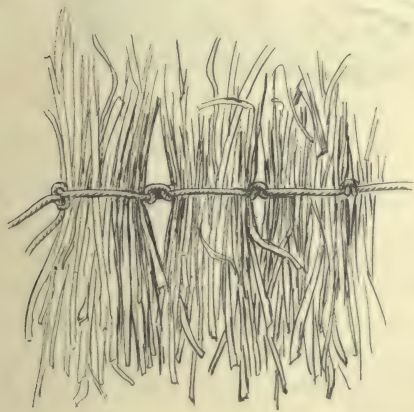


Fig. 45 (50-7948). Detail of a Straw Mat.

by punching holes with an awl and forcing the roots through with the fingers.

Mats are made from the inner bark of cedar or from bull-rushes. These are plaited with the fingers. Owing to the fact that cheap Japanese matting has long been within the reach of the Sauteaux at the posts, the manufacture of these mats has practically been given up and we were unable to obtain any information about them. They are not now found north

of Lac Seul. Mats made of bundles of straw (Fig. 45) sewed together were formerly common. Like the rush and bark mats, these were formerly placed on the floor of the lodge to sit or recline upon. At Martens Falls Post, caribou skins, tanned with the hair, take the place of floor mats.

Fabrics and woven bags are unknown, although the Saulteaux may have had them when they entered the country. The Indians at Lac Seul still occasionally make splint baskets. No notes were obtained and no one could be found who knew the process although it was said that some old women were able to make them. Owing to the fact that birchbark is abundant and much more easily worked, baskets of this material are more common.

Birchbark is removed from the trees about the first of July, when it begins to peel properly. Decorations are sometimes scratched on utensils as may be seen on several of the specimens. In making these designs, the

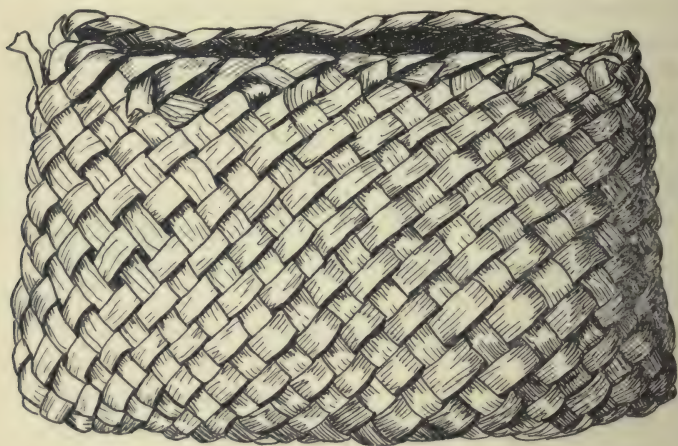


Fig. 46 (50-7478). A Bag of Cedar Bark.

motive is first scratched on and then the background or unscratched part is rubbed with boiled black willow bark which dyes it a dark orange. Bags (Fig. 46) are sometimes woven with the fingers out of strips of bark and netted carrying bags like those found among the Eastern Cree also occur. The latter are usually made from moose hide thongs. A description of the manufacture of rabbitskin blankets will be found among the notes on the Eastern Cree (p. 35). The process is identical among the two peoples except in a few minor details.

Nets, which some of the Saulteaux say were not aboriginal, but European in their origin, are woven with the wooden netting needle, and are similar to those found among the Eastern Cree. A needle of larger size is used to make the border. Snowshoe nets are woven with bone or wooden needles. Babiche is used for the web but when it is scarce, strips of sturgeon skin or

even bark are used. Woven pack straps are not used among these people who preferred those made of leather.

One of the most unique and interesting specimens obtained among the Northern Saukteaux is the basket shown in Fig. 47. This is an unusually well made basket shaped like a bushel measure and of nearly the same size. The technique is of the one rod coil, open texture variety, rare in North America, except among the Central California people, especially the Modoc. The turns of the brown spruce root binding element are about half an inch

apart and the foundation of peeled willow twigs shows between them, causing the effect of vertical dark lines on a white background. The lines are severe and exact. The bottom is made of finer material than the walls as the coils here are bent more closely. A unique feature is that the foundation is made of circular bands bent, one in each round, rather than the usual spiral. Each of these bands is a single willow rod

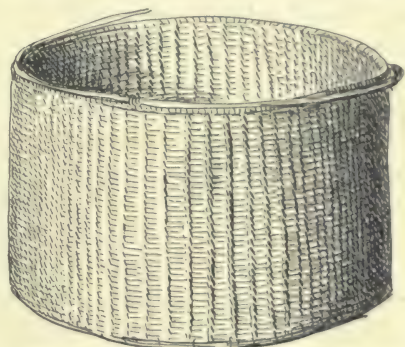


Fig. 47 (50-8004). Basket of unusual Technique. Diameter, 30 cm.

spliced at the end. The outer rim is made by overlapping a piece of the foundation material all around cornice-wise to the outside of the top. The specimen was obtained at Fort Osaburgh on Lake St. Joseph and the technique is practically lost in this locality, as only one old Saukteaux woman remembered how to make baskets of this type. It is possible that formerly this variety of basket was more widespread, but, so far as the writer is aware, the specimen is the only one now in existence from the Eastern Woodlands.¹ Among the Northern Saukteaux, the native name for this type of basket is "willow ring basket," a reference to the foundation material.

Quill Work. Porcupine quills are soaked until they lose their stiffness. They are then drawn between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and flattened. After this they are sewn with a needle made from the penis bone of a marten. Quills are dyed red with tamarack bark; yellow, with black willow; and brown, with punk or rotten wood. White and black are natural colors occurring in the quills.

¹ Mr. M. R. Harrington informs the writer that there are in existence similar specimens from the Ojibway graves in northern Michigan.

Dyes and Paints. The Northern Saulteaux were acquainted with several kinds of paints and dyes, which were: orange and yellow, obtained by splitting and boiling black willow root; green; dark red, obtained by boiling spruce cones; red, by boiling tamarack bark; and brown, obtained by boiling punk and rotten wood. These dyes were used for coloring porcupine quills, dyeing buckskin, and birchbark. Wooden implements were boiled in spruce root liquor to dye them.

The following paints were known:— red (2 shades), hematite or ocher; and black, charcoal mixed with grease. Other dyes and paints are all obtained from the traders.

Paintings were made on blazed trees, on birchbark, and on canvas. The latter were generally animal heads, such as caribou. The heads of clan animals or personal totems were especial favorites. There were formerly a number of rock paintings in the region of the Northern Saulteaux. One painting may still be found at Fairy Point on Missanabie Lake. It is supposed by some to represent a man's winter hunt but is more likely to represent some of the animals which appeared to the painter during his dreams, probably when he was fasting and dreaming for his spirit guardian. It is claimed that these drawings were made by the ancestors of some of the Saulteaux living near by.

Pottery. Up to fairly recent times, pottery was manufactured by some remote bands. Selected clay was dug and tempered by kneading a fine gravel or coarse sand into it with the fingers. It was then made into rolls and the vessels were built up by the coil process, beginning at the middle of the bottom and winding the coils around outward and upward to make the sides, which were then smoothed over until the appearance of the coils was effaced. When complete, the vessel was dried beside the fire. However, the firing eventually took place when the vessel was used. In cooking, the kettle was set upright in the sand or propped up with stones and the fire built around it. Some Saulteaux from Trout River near Lac Seul still claimed to be able to make pottery in 1909, but when put to the test they did not succeed. Potsherds are found on some old camp sites in Lac Seul, notably at Manitou Island, but the writer was unable to obtain any at this place. Clay pipes were not used.

Stone vessels were sometimes made of naturally hollow stones or when these could not be found, the natives worked them out by pecking and hammering from boulders of soft stone (steatite?). Water was generally boiled in these kettles by dropping hot stones in it.

Birchbark vessels for cooking were unknown to the Northern Saulteaux.

Use of Birchbark. When the first week of July arrives, birchbark begins to peel properly and is then gathered by the natives. A tree with as great

a girth as possible is selected and care is taken to see that there are no branches near the ground. As birchbark peels horizontally, the tree is girdled near the base by cutting a short longitudinal gash, and peeling off a narrow strip of bark. The Indian then reaches or climbs up on the trunk as far as he can and girdles another upper boundary in the same manner, thus marking off the length of the strip. Then a gash is cut downward, and the bark removed at a single pull, and is then ready for use. If it is desired flat, it is laid on the ground and pressed out with stones or sticks. If it should dry too much for use it is soaked over night or longer, until pliable. It is sewed by punching holes in it with an awl and sewing with spruce roots split and soaked until pliable. For a wigwam, the bark is made up into rolls of pieces fastened together with narrow strips of root with pieces of wood sewn on each end to keep the ends from splitting when dry. Three rolls are required for a wigwam. Sometimes the bark is ornamented by scratching parallel bands upon it and rubbing black willow root dye to darken it and throw out the light bands. Newly made canoes are dyed with black willow root dye in this manner.

Canoe Making. In building a canoe, the first step is to select and sew together three or four pieces of strong bark suitable for the bottom covering. Stones are then laid on the bark to flatten it. After having been flattened, it is laid on the ground and on it is placed a light wooden frame of the size and shape that is desired for the bottom. The bark is cut from the outside edge to this frame at intervals. It is then bent up around the edge of the frame so that the sides of the cuts overlap. Seven stakes are driven along each side and a strip is fastened longitudinally over the full length of the canoe frame at the bottom. This is to hold the bark more securely in place. The fourteen stakes are all driven to the proper height for the gunwales of the finished canoe, which should be either the length of the forearm from the elbow to the base of the thumb, or, in the case of the largest canoes, to the first joint of the thumb. After the stakes have been driven, a bent top frame, which afterwards serves as the gunwale of the canoe is fastened inside of them at the top. Then the cuts made in the bottom bark are sewed together with thread made of peeled willow root. During the sewing process this is kept coiled up in a kettle of water to keep it soft. Pieces of bark, usually three or four in number, are placed on each side of the bottom to form the sides of the canoe. The lower edges of the sides are made to overlap the bottom bark and are then all sewed together and to the bottom. The slits in the bottom bark are sewed up at this time. After the upper edges of the sides are bent around up over the gunwales from the outside of the frame and fastened down with small nails or tacks, the bark is sewn on to the gunwales. The root thread is wound closely around the gunwale,

the spirals touching each other for the whole length. Among the Eastern Cree, the bark is only bound at intervals. The frames are shaped for the bow and the stern. These are made of cedar and must be attached to the body of the canoe. The pin which held the ends of the bark together must be removed and the ends fastened inside. The peculiar shape of the Saulteaux bow and stern is considered by them to be the best type for cutting the water and for speed, but each band usually has its own preferred type.

The rising points on either end are to prevent damage to the canoe when it is overturned on shore. After the ends are fastened on, the false work and stones are removed and the seams pitched inside with plain uncolored spruce gum. Rags are laid over the soft pitch and thin flexible lathes the proper shape are laid inside the canoe bottom. Then the outside of the canoe is pitched with spruce gum which has been mixed with powdered birchbark charcoal, to give it its black appearance and make the canoe look "handsome" by contrast with the light colored birchbark. After this, many Indians dye the canoe with black willow root bark. This dyes the canoe a reddish brown which is fairly permanent, but after a season or two bleaches out, and accounts for the light color of old canoes. Old canoes that have been repatched with new dyed birchbark present the appearance of a crazy quilt. The average length of a canoe is from 15 to 18 feet. Twelve feet is about the shortest, and in former times some as long as forty feet were used.

Miscellaneous. Prior to the advent of the Europeans, the Saulteaux used stone axes, probably of the celt type, for apparently the grooved ax was not known to them. A model stone ax of the celt type was shown to the writer at Lac Seul. It was hafted in a split stick and bound above and below the blade with split willow root. In the olden times, when stone axes were used, and later when metal axes of European make were first introduced, they were so valuable that a family rarely possessed more than a single ax. It is claimed that stone axes were pecked into shape with another stone.

Two kinds of crooked knives were formerly used. One was made of a sharpened caribou rib wrapped up at one end with buckskin to make a grip or handle. The other was a plain flint knife chipped out with a hammer-stone. Rubbed stone implements were never made. Arrow points were usually made of stone or bone and not of antler. The bone used was taken from the shin of the deer or caribou. Semilunar knives or scrapers were not used.

Needles were made of bone or thorns, or carved from wood. The perforations in wooden needles and holes in other wooden objects were made by burning, as is shown in some of the specimens.

Snow goggles are shaped from a piece of wood hollowed out, and made narrow at the ends, and projecting forward from the eyes. They were blackened inside by rubbing with soot or gunpowder.

Small torches are made of a roll of birchbark pulled out and ignited for use in the wigwams. Larger torches are made in the same way for out door use at night.

PREPARATION OF FOOD.

Old-time Indians had but two meals a day, in the morning and the evening; that is to say, these were the only regular meals, but there was usually some food about the house which might be eaten between meals if any felt so inclined. The culinary art of the Saulteaux is much less developed than is that of their neighbors, the Eastern Cree. Formerly, meat was usually roasted before the fire on a spit. Now it is more customary to boil it. Pottery vessels and paunch kettles were used. The latter usually consisted of a part of the stomach of one of the large ruminants, and was suspended directly over the blazing fire. The Saulteaux claim that such a stomach kettle could only be used once as it usually was burned through. In winter time, hard crust snow is melted to get water for drinking and cooking.

In smoking meat out of doors, a scaffold (Plate 2b) is often used. A fire is built directly under the scaffold to hold the meat. It is really more dried than smoked, the object being to get rid of the juice of the meat. It usually takes a day or more to cure meat thoroughly in this manner. When traveling, and there is no time to cure meat thoroughly, a grill of poles is built and the fire made under it, but this does not cure the meat well. Sometimes meat is smoked on a scaffold, or grill, built over the fireplace beneath the smoke hole. This is especially the case in the two-fire lodges. For smoking, meat is cut into thin strips or steaks so that it can be more quickly cured.

Smoked meat is usually boiled before using but it is occasionally fried. In this case, it must be parboiled. Fish are usually boiled, a process, which owing to the democratic agency of the kettle, places the flesh, however delicate or coarse, whether it be trout, sturgeon, white fish, or sucker, on a common level of unpalatability. Fish are also occasionally roasted on a spit run through them lengthwise and set obliquely before the fire. When fish are to be smoked, they are cleaned, split and scaled, and if they are other than white fish or suckers, their heads are removed. For smoking

fish, a rectangular scaffold with a grill of cross pieces is lashed together over the fire and the fish are laid on this. They are sometimes hung about inside the wigwam or outside on poles out of the reach of the dogs and dried without fire. After a fish has been dried, smoked or boiled it may be eaten just as it is. Pickerel roe is baked under the ground or in hot ashes.

Meat is often kept in birchbark baskets, or rogans (Fig. 48). These are usually covered with bark carefully tied down with a spruce root string. The boxes are stored on scaffolds out of doors, or on cross poles of the wigwams where they will be out of the reach of dogs. Grease is put up in cakes.

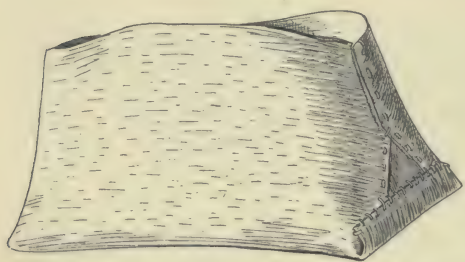


Fig. 48 (50-8003). A Rogan for storing Dried Meat. Depth, 27 cm.

It is run into a birchbark mold and cooled before storing and is also preserved in a liquid state in bags made of the bladder of the black bear or of pike skin. Wooden bowls are now obsolete. They were formerly made from birch knots. Wooden spoons are still used. They are carved from the roots of the same tree. Fire was not employed

in the making of these utensils. The crooked knife alone served the purpose.

The Indians scrape off the inner bark of the birch, poplar and other trees (except spruce and balsam which are too sticky), boil and eat it. Birch syrup is made like maple syrup and some roots are eaten in times of starvation.

Hunting and Fishing. As agriculture was not known to the Northern Saulteaux, the natives depended almost entirely upon the chase, fishing, and wild rice for their food. The animals eaten by the Saulteaux are the moose, caribou, Virginia deer, black bear, lynx, beaver, woodchuck, muskrat, skunk and other small animals, including snakes, turtles, and game birds of all the species occurring in their range as well as night-hawks, hawks and owls and all varieties of fish.

Of the game taken, the moose is the most important, and many are slaughtered annually. The natives are exceedingly wasteful of them, indeed one hunter at Osnaburgh House on Lake St. Joseph slew thirty-two moose and at least seven caribou during the winter of 1908-9. He confessed that there was no object in his killing so many except the pleasure in taking life, for he had much more meat than he could use, and the skins, even when tanned, were of very little value. One of the most redeeming qualities of the Northern Saulteaux is their exceedingly poor marksmanship, for

}they seek to slay every living animal they see, whether it can be of any use to them or not.

When a moose is killed, it is butchered on the spot with remarkable celerity. On the journey from Lac Seul to Lake St. Joseph, in 1909, the writer had the opportunity of witnessing the butchering of a moose killed by the party. The animal was first drawn, skinned, and quartered, the neck severed, the head cut off and the ribs separated from the spine, the entire process not taking more than fifteen minutes. The Indians are expert anatomists and know at once where to cut in order to disjoint the bones.

A young man killing his first moose or other big game usually has a feast made in his honor and is supposed to sit up all night drumming and singing prayers for his future success. In taking moose, caribou, and other large game, a simple bow about six feet in length and arrows headed with stone were used. For ducks and geese, the arrow was headed with bone. For smaller game, a blunt arrow, short in proportion to the comparatively great length of the bow was employed. These are still used by the boys. The arrow is not feathered nor is the nock flattened. The head of the arrow is blunt and terminates in a small point or nipple, though it is occasionally left round. The bowstring was formerly made of rawhide, but twisted commercial string now takes its place. In the Saulteaux arrow release the arrow is held against the inside edge of the bow and the notch fitted to the string. The nock is grasped and pulled back with the tip of the thumb and the sides or the tips of the first and second finger.

Bears, lynx, and other carnivora were snared as well as shot. Lynx were snared with nooses made of twisted willow roots. A bear snare observed by the writer at Lac Seul was made as follows:—From a log suspended against the side of a living tree the noose was swung over a bear path near by. The rest of the path except where the noose was swung was blocked, leaving only a small opening through which the bear must come. The noose was hung about the height of the bear's head to drag the notch loose when he came into it; the weight of the suspended log was intended to throw and choke him to death before he could tear away the rope about his throat. Rabbits are caught in a similar manner by means of a noose and tossing pole. Many animals are caught in deadfalls set in their paths. This method is used with most fur bearers, the skin of which is liable to be injured by catching in any other manner. In constructing the deadfall in front of a log pen, a small square frame was built and a trigger bound to the top piece. The trigger is also fastened to the falling log which hangs down and is kept from falling by a loosely set treadle. The bait is placed in the back of the pen on a stick and the whole is covered to prevent en-

trance from the top. The animal crawling in over the choking board steps on the treadle before he can get at the bait and releases the trigger which flies up and the falling log drops down, crushing it. These traps are used especially for mink, marten, fisher, and lynx. For otter, a similar deadfall is made but two choking logs are used. This is generally set at the foot of an otter slide. The trap is set in the middle of the chute and the two choking logs are placed so that the stick, falling between them will break the back of the otter, for he is too strong to be killed by the ordinary method. For baiting deadfalls and other snares, pemmican and grease flavored with castor are used or sometimes with castor alone. While lynx are generally killed by the noose and tossing pole, they are also taken by a simple noose. The track of the lynx is usually found in the snow along the banks of a creek or river. Sometimes a hunter will set the snare along his own trail, for the lynx has the habit of dogging or following persons who are traveling along through the woods, through curiosity. The Indians take advantage of this and set the snare on the trail. It consists of two uprights on either side of the trail, flanked by brush to keep the lynx from going around. These uprights support an inclined log which is fastened to them so that it cannot be drawn away. From the middle of this a noose, open to the size of the lynx's head is used. The lynx, following his own trail or that of the hunter, puts his head into the noose and is caught. Like the rabbit, the lynx is exceedingly stupid, and easily caught. Beaver are penned in and netted in the creeks by the Saulteaux in the same manner as by the Eastern Cree.

The prairie chicken is also snared in an ingenious manner. These birds congregate in numbers and go through a curious series of actions, known as dancing, beating down the grass for quite a space by hopping about. They usually resort to the same place every year, during March, the mating season. The Indians cut tamarack boughs and fence in the dancing ground leaving openings in the enclosure at intervals. Slip nooses are set in these openings and pieces of branches set out at intervals like radiating spokes with snares in them. The birds come to the ground, either getting caught by the snares set in the circumference of the circular enclosure or in the radiating spokes. This type of snare was also found among the Eastern Cree. Sometimes the Saulteaux set nets about the adjacent grounds and the prairie chickens become entangled in them.

The pound trap for taking deer and caribou was unknown to the Northern Saulteaux. Of course, in modern times, steel traps have taken the place of most of the old types and ordinary commercial wire has supplanted the spruce root and sinew twine noose. Hunters believe that the possession of beaded bandolier shot and powder pouches brings them good luck.

Gill nets are employed at present for fishing. The size of the mesh of these nets varies according to the size of the fish. Some old Saulteaux claim that nets are not an aboriginal but a European invention. The nets are generally set at the mouths of streams in the shallows along the shores of rivers and lakes. They vary in length, those used in the rivers being the shortest, only from twenty-five to fifty feet long; but those used in the lakes and in shallower streams are sometimes a hundred or more feet in length. They are usually made of twine bought from the traders but were probably formerly made of spruce root bark. They are weighted down with unworked pebbles. These are bound to the lower edge of the net by bark cord. The nets are kept upright by floats made of wood. These are about one yard long, lanceolate in shape, and four or five inches broad at the broadest part. They are notched at the lower end for tying to the net. In the shallows, the tips stick above the surface and mark the spot where the net was placed. Sometimes a buoy is made of old canoe ribs lashed together to form an eight-armed star, the arms of which curve upward.

In former times, fish hooks of wood and bone were used. These consisted of a wooden shaft with a bone barb set at an angle of forty-five degrees. Fish are also "jacked" for at night. Selecting a shallow place where the water is clear, the Indians repair to the spot after dark. There the fish are attracted to the canoe by a light, made by igniting a roll of birchbark set in a split stick. The bark burns brightly and the fish, which are attracted to the spot by the glare, are also rendered quite visible to the occupants of the canoe, and are easily speared. Two men are required for this mode of fishing, one to hold the jack and the other to use the spear. Trade spears are nowadays used for this purpose, but formerly a barbed bone harpoon took the place of these.

Fish traps are set in slack water at the foot of rapids. They are about twenty feet long, with one end open and the end usually pointing upstream. The top is also open but the lower end is closed. They are designed to catch fish coming down stream. The ends are supported by horse-shaped supports and so little water flows through the top that fish once swimming in become stranded. Weirs were never used. Among the Southern Saulteaux when sturgeon are caught they are clubbed to death with a "sturgeon mallet", an implement of wood closely resembling a ball-headed war club.

Wild Rice Culture. Owing to the fact that most of the lakes in the country of the Northern Saulteaux have stony bottoms, wild rice, which thrives best in mud does not commonly occur in their country. It is said that the little rice that occurs was brought in from elsewhere by the Indians. It springs up readily after sowing without any further cultivation and the

crop rarely fails unless the water becomes too deep. The crop becomes ripe in August, when it is gathered by the Indians who do not tie the stalks together in bundles to mark individual ownership. The canoes run about in the beds, the stalks are grasped with the left hand and pulled over the canoe, the grain being beaten from them with a stick or canoe paddle held in the right hand. A piece of cloth or birchbark is laid on the bottom of the canoe and the grains fall on this. When a supply has been harvested, the Indians return to their lodges to dry the rice. This is done by placing it in a frying pan and holding it over the fire. When dry, the next process is to thresh it. A round hole is dug and lined with birchbark or a piece of cloth, and the rice placed in it. It is then threshed by the Indians, who first put on clean moccasins and then get into the hole and tramp on the rice. The rice is then placed in a shallow box or dish of birchbark and shaken about in the wind to blow away the chaff. When the process is complete the grain is put into a birchbark box, and kept until needed. When wanted for food it is boiled whole, and not ground into flour. Now that the Indians obtain flour from the Hudson's Bay Company they have largely given up the harvesting of wild rice.

Preserved Berries. In the proper season, blueberries are gathered in large quantities and spread out on a pole scaffold, carpeted with reeds. A fire is built beneath this frame and the berries are slowly dried like currants. They are eaten while dry just as they are, or mixed with fat or grease and pounded caribou meat.

Pemmican. Meat is dried and pounded between two stones. One of these is flat (the one used as a mortar), the other was formerly cylindrical, like a pestle, but nowadays the blunt end of an ax head serves as a pounder. A piece of cloth lies underneath the mortar to prevent any of the meat from being lost. When pounded, the meat is mixed with bear's fat or other grease, and sometimes dried blueberries are added as a relish. This mixture is stored in birchbark boxes.

Fire-making. Although fire-making by striking pieces of flint and pyrites together was not unknown to the Saukteaux, the favorite method for fire-making was by means of the bow drill. The bow drill is still used, at least by some of the older men, when short of matches in the woods. A model of the bow drill was obtained together with the following description and demonstration of its use. The bow drill as used in this region consists of three pieces: a bow, preferably of cedar, with a thong or babiche string, a base board, and a shaft or twirling stick, both of the latter being of cedar. The hole in the base board or hearth should be about an inch deep and big enough for the point of the twirling stick to fit into it snugly. The hearth when used for traveling is only a few inches long, but

when kept permanently about the lodge it may be a yard in length. Fire is obtained after about five minutes. Birch punk is used for touchwood, which is placed in and about the hole into which the twirling stick fits. When it begins to smoulder, shredded birchbark is added to obtain flame. On June 8, 1909, Abitcininis, living on Wabigoon Lake near Dinorwic, demonstrated with the model made by himself. He knelt down on the ground and took the base board firmly between his knees. He held the bow in his right hand while the shaft was kept upright and in position with the palm of the left. He got smoke in about three minutes but was obliged to desist because he had no tinder.

AMUSEMENTS.

The favorite pastime of the Northern Saulteaux is the cup and pin game (*napahawn*).

There are eight units made of deer or caribou phalangeal bones, the uppermost retaining the joint while the others are cut into conical form. The counts differed with every band and at every Post. At Fort Hope, however, they are as follows:—For the buckskin tail, where an elliptical piece of buckskin with many perforations is used, ten was counted for each hole strung. In a second form where the buckskin had several slits instead of perforations, it counted twenty to catch the tail with the striking pin. For the hole on either side of the topmost unit, thirty was counted. For the hole in front, one hundred, and for the one in the rear, forty was counted. The topmost unit if caught alone counted ten, but if caught in connection with several others, only one. Each of the other units counted but one. In some cases the topmost unit has two perforations half way down the sides, but the count for these was not obtained. The number of points required to win the game was one hundred, and sticks about the size of a match are used as counters.

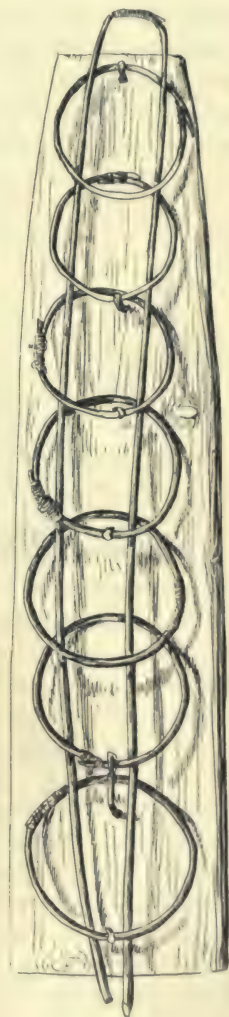


Fig. 49 (50-7976). A
Puzzle of Hoop and Rings.

In playing, a person might continue until he missed a throw when the game had to be passed to his left hand neighbor.

A puzzle, which I shall call "the hoop and rings," is also a great favorite (Fig. 49). The object is to get the hoop clear of the rings without letting go the free ends held in the hand. It is accomplished by getting the hoop and rings in position in series of three, when the hoop is released. The next task is to return it to its former position. Mr. A. C. Parker, state archaeologist at the New York State Museum at Albany, New York, informs the writer that this puzzle was formerly known to the Seneca Iroquois of New York.

Cat's cradle is played and several figures with names for each figure were observed. A string is tied about the fingers and the thumb in an

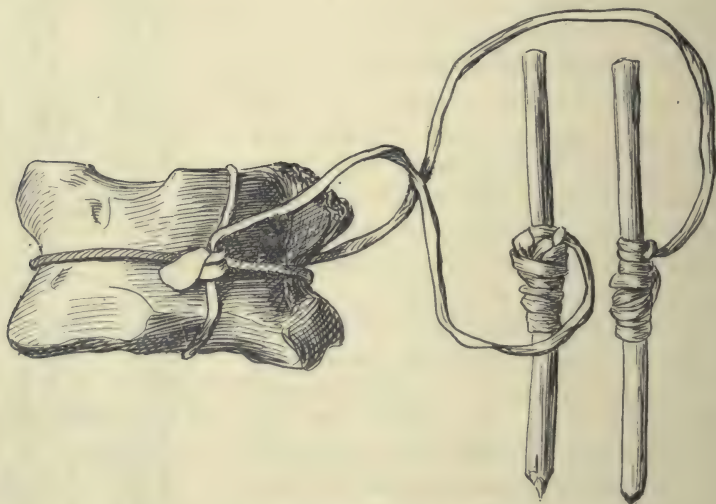


Fig. 50 (50-8052). A Buzzer of Bone.

apparently inextricable manner, but a pull at one end releases it without any trouble. The ends of a string about two and a half feet long are bound over the wrists. Another string is passed between the arms and bound about the wrist of a second person. The puzzle is to get free without breaking the string or untying it. This is accomplished by looping one string and slipping it under the other where bound about the opponent's hands and over his hand.

Hand ball is played with a ball of deer, moose, or caribou skin stuffed with animal hair, and football with the same kind of ball of larger size.

There seem to be no rules except that the ball must only be struck with the hands, in hand ball, and never touched by the hands in football.

Bull roarers of several kinds not only serve as amusements but are carried by hunters, who use them to bring the wind. The outfit consists of a central wooden disc or cylinder or of a scaphoid bone of a deer or moose. A string is attached to each side and a grip or handle placed transversely at right angles to the end of the string. The whole is held loosely and the central disc revolved until the string is very much twisted. Then, by tightening and loosening the string, the cord unwinds and rewinds itself with great rapidity causing the middle piece to revolve and make a loud, buzzing noise. Another variety of the bull roarer consists of a piece of wood serrated on the edges and attached to a string about a yard long and fastened to a string some six inches in length. In this case the stick is grasped in the hand and the roarer swung around the head. Tops made of wood (Fig. 51) were spun with the fingers, also, but to make the wind blow.

In shinny, two wooden balls are tied together. They are thrown and carried by a stick with a knob at one end. The game is played by four men or with double the number of men and two sets of poles. The object was to carry the opponent's goal. Twenty points made the game. For this purpose twenty pegs of wood about the size of matches are kept and one given to the side scoring a goal until one side wins them all. This game is also found among the Eastern Cree.

A game known as fox and geese was probably derived from the Europeans and was played as follows:—Sides were chosen with six on each side. Lines were drawn at a distance of about one hundred feet from each other and the parties were supposed to remain behind his line. One man would go over to a point about ten or fifteen feet from the other side when he would be pursued by a player from that side, who would endeavor to touch him. If he succeeded in this, the man touched must submit and remain where he was placed by his captor until released by one of his own men. The object of the game was to catch all of the enemy.

Snow snake is played in winter. The stick is about two feet long and pointed at each end. No sides are taken as it is merely a trial of skill. Gambling is not practised.

Bows and arrows, bow guns, and hand slings are favorite children's toys. These are sometimes very diminutive. The Lac Seul Saulteaux used a so-called "popgun" or "flipping stick" but in a different manner from the more northern Saulteaux. Among the latter, it is long,



Fig. 51 (50-8115).
A Top. Height, 8 cm.

pointed and supple, bending over or bowing backward. It is used to hurl single stones or pebbles, whereas the former type is shorter, stiff and has a broad end in which a longitudinal groove or slot is made to hold the missile, a quantity of coarse sand or fine gravel discharged by a motion of the right wrist. Toy canoes, baby frames, and other articles, were often seen. Small animals are frequently dressed by little girls to serve as dolls.

Dances and Music. The Northern Saulteaux have long ceased to hold the old-fashioned dances and now, like the Eastern Cree, dance entirely in the European fashion, to the music of the drum and fiddle. The dances of the midéwin were the last to go out but even these are obsolete. The old dances were always circular. It is remembered that certain holidays were observed every year at various seasons when dances were held. One ceremony occurred early in the spring when the leaves began to bud and the grass to show. For a long time prior to this dance the Indians busied themselves in gathering various kinds of choice meat and other food to feast on during the ceremony. The festival was held in a large tent, the food was passed out by a shaman from a great pile in the center of the lodge. The event lasted for three days. The dancing was held outside the tent around a fire. The drummers stood or squatted by the fire and the others danced about them. The dance was not continuous but stopped at intervals. Prayers of thanksgiving for the past year and petitions for the year to come were offered. All dances were religious in their significance and

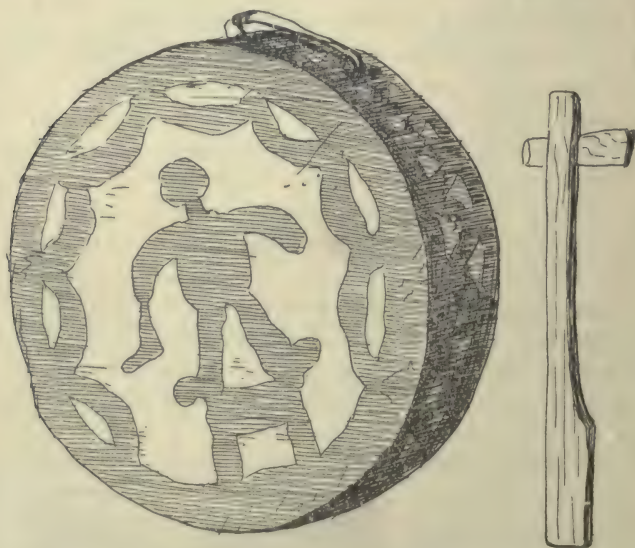


Fig. 52 (50-7448 9). A Drum and Stick. Diameter, 26 cm.

were either for thanksgiving or petitions. Other dances remembered were, the shaman's dance (*midéwin?*), bear dance, and war dance (preceded by the discovery dance).

The musical instruments were few and crude. Drums of several sorts were known. These varied in size. The commonest sort was double-headed, with paintings in blue, green, and red, usually realistic in their design, on the parchments (Fig. 52). Bent drumsticks occurred, others were straight with a piece set at right angles at the striking end (Fig. 52). Flutes seem to have been unknown, but whistles were commonly used by the children. Rattles used by the *midéwin* were formerly made of a birchbark cylinder containing pebbles, with a handle running through it from end to end. Tin cans have lately served the purpose of the birchbark. At Fort Hope, children's rattles were formerly made of sturgeon skin or of the skin of an unidentified fish, locally known as the "*morai*", but the form could not be learned.

Pipes and Smoking. The Northern Saulteaux claim that they had no tobacco before the European advent, and that they had no knowledge of smoking or pipes. As their northern neighbors, the Eastern Cree, smoked kinickinick before they received tobacco, and the Ojibway proper have long had the custom, this statement seems improbable, although of course, tobacco may be a recent importation among them. The stone pipe bowls used by the Northern Saulteaux are generally made of a blackish or greenish steatite (?). They are generally either of the "*Micmac* type,"¹ (Fig. 53a), the form in general use among the Eastern Cree, or shaped like the well-known angular Siouan,² or Plains form (Fig. 53b). The stem is made of a shrub or plant known as "*marten wood*". Sections about six inches long and slightly thinner than a lead



Fig. 53 a (50-7930), b (50-7940). Stone-headed Pipes.

¹ McGuire, 479.

² McGuire, 571 *et seq.*

pencil are cut. The bark is peeled off and the pithy heart removed. These stems are easily made, so that the Indians usually keep a supply on hand, renewing the stem whenever it becomes clogged. The long and ornate stems seen further south are not found in the region under discussion. Most stone pipe bowls are perfectly plain, but one specimen (Fig. 53b) secured is inlaid with lead. Nowadays, stone pipes are more commonly used by the women than by the men, and the "Micmac" type seems to have formerly been used exclusively by males, although now there appears to be a lack of information on the subject. Pipes are used generally for ordinary purposes, but in former times they had a ceremonial use, especially in war and peace ceremonies.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION.

In the summer, most traveling is by means of canoes along the rivers, the highways of the forests, for few long trails, except those used in winter are known. Pack baskets of birchbark may be used occasionally by the southern bands of Saulteaux, as they certainly are by those dwelling near the northern shore of Lake Superior, but north of this, the pack strap takes its place. The pack strap has a broad piece of leather which runs across the forehead and narrow side thongs about six feet in length for tying on the burden; the weight resting more upon the head and neck than upon the shoulders. Burden frames of a peculiar type were formerly used in transportation. These were shaped like a horseshoe with elongated sides. A babiche web crossed the frame and a pack strap attached it to the forehead, the open end being away from the bottom and the bent end touching the small of the back, the whole standing out at an angle of forty-five degrees. Articles were hung on it and axes and other utensils hooked into it.

Saulteaux baby carriers are of three kinds, the oldest and most archaic consists of a board to which a bag is fastened, and the baby is placed inside of this. The type now most common in the south has a bow at the head to hold up the canopy or sunshade and also to prevent injury to the child if the carrier should be dropped while the baby is in it. Another type with a simple bow, occurs further north. When the child is on the baby board, it is laced into a bag bound to the carrier usually made soft and comfortable with moss, which also soaks up the urine and is changed from time to time. In traveling, the arms of the baby are usually bound up to prevent their being struck, injured or broken by a swinging branch, but when at rest, the baby's arms are usually allowed to be free. The Saulteaux think that the

board makes the child's back straighter. Sometimes the moss bag alone is used to carry the child and the back of this is stiffened with sheets of birchbark. Baby boards are carried on the back by means of a strap running from the upper corners which goes about the chest or over the forehead like a pack strap. The bag is sometimes suspended and swung or rocked by means of this strap thrown over a post or branch of a tree. Small blankets of rabbitskin, closed at the bottom, are used as carrying bags or blankets for the babies when on the cradle board.

In winter, toboggans were used to draw supplies over the snow. Owing to the difficulty of doing this work, a man can only pull a load about one half as great as he can carry with a head strap. Indians drawing mail

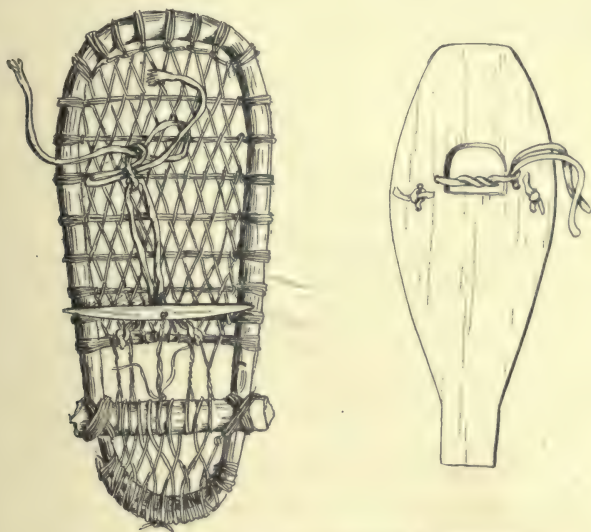


Fig. 54. (50-7971, 7963). Two types of Snowshoes.

toboggans for the Hudson's Bay Company formerly carried swinging sticks in their hands. In pulling the toboggan, the hands are swung from side to side in front of the body. The sticks are grasped at either end by knobs put there for the purpose and swung back and forth horizontally. They are about two and a half feet or one yard long, painted and decorated with ribbons. Dog sleds are recent innovations brought from the Eskimo through the Eastern Cree and are rarely used by the Sauteaux.

Two types of snowshoes are common (Fig. 54). A long and narrow form, called "gillies" by the Hudson's Bay Company servants, is used in hunting and walking through the forests, and short rounded ones for running or

following the dog teams. The bear's paw form is said not to have been used by the more southern bands. A pair somewhat resembling this type but a little more elongate (Fig. 54) was obtained at Martens Falls, the habitat of one of the most northern Saulteaux bands who possibly derived this type from the Eastern Cree. Snowshoes are netted with babiche, or if this is not obtainable, sturgeon skin, or even willow root bark is employed. In the latter case, the bark net is always carefully oiled or greased to prevent it from cracking or becoming brittle in the cold. Canoe sleds are used to drag canoes over the snow from river to river in the spring when the ice is breaking up. When other materials failed, snowshoes were made of wood as makeshifts (Fig. 54). A cross board kept them from slipping like skis. Snowshoes were often unlaced in cold weather, when the strings were frozen and the fingers numb, by a snowshoe unlacer made of one of the rami of the inferior maxillary of the lynx.

SIGNS AND SIGNALS.

The Ojibway have few methods of expressing themselves by signs. When traveling through the forest one may find a deserted camp near which a stick is set obliquely in the ground. This means, "We moved from here in such a direction" (according to the way in which the stick is inclined). If it is the intention of the party to indicate where their next camp will be pitched, this is signified by placing a vertical stick on the ground projecting above the oblique bar for each day, which reads, "We are going in such a direction and will camp there three days." A round piece of wood lashed to the oblique bar over one of the vertical rods, signifies the length of time the party will stay in camp and reads, "We went in such a direction and will camp there four days." When the round piece is placed at the end of the oblique bar over the last vertical rod it signifies, "We will journey five days in the direction indicated and will camp there indefinitely." The Northern Saulteaux claim that they never used smoke signals, and were not acquainted with picture writing, except the bark scrolls of the midéwin. Since the advent of European missionaries, however, the syllabics invented by them have been widely adopted. Letters in syllabics, written in lead pencil or charcoal on birchbark, or on a white chip are placed in split sticks along the banks of rivers, where they are eventually found by the person for whom they were intended. Trees are also "blazed," the bark is cut away with an ax for a smaller or larger area and

the white wood exposed underneath. This space is then used to write upon in the well-known syllabic characters. Trails through the forest are marked by "blazing"; the trees are hacked at intervals by the maker of the trail as he passes along and the white marks shining through the forest serve as guide posts to future comers along the road.

MONTHS AND SEASONS.

The Northern Saulteaux divide the year into the following six seasons:—spring, *sigun*; between spring and summer, *min'okomin*; summer, *nipin*; autumn, *tukwa'gin*; Indian summer, *pit'cipipoun*; winter, *pipoun*.

They reckon twelve lunar months as follows:—

January, *djibápiwutkizis* (*djiba*, morning —).

February, *kjékizis* (big moon).

March, *mikisúkizis* (eagle moon).

April, *nikíkizis* (the moon the geese come or goose moon).

May, *mángokizis* (the moon the loons come, loon moon).

June, *sagibúkkaokizis* (budding leaf moon).

July, *Woskunitékizis* (unripe-berry month).

August, *Atiktemínikizis* (ripe berry moon):

September, *pazikohoikizis* (the moon young ducks begin to fly).

October, *pimahamoikizis* (the moon the birds begin to fly south).

November, *kuskutinikizis* (freezing moon, or lakes and rivers freezing moon).

December, *pichiponikizis* (the moon that winter begins).

DIRECTIONS AND WEATHER CUSTOMS.

Among the Northern Saulteaux, the names for the directions are:—north, *kiweténung*; south, *shawanung*; west, *negapiung*; up, *ishpeming*; down, *tabuzish*; north wind, *kiwétinotin*, south wind, *wabanotin*; east wind, *shawanotin*; west wind, *negapihun*.

The following legend is preserved among the Northern Saulteaux in regard to the origin of the winds:—A woman had four children at one time. When they were born, the woman died and left the four children. They

were all sons. The oldest of these was the south wind. The second was the east wind, the third was the west wind, and the youngest was the north wind. The first said he would travel southward, the second, said, "I will go east," the third said, "I will go west," and the fourth said, "I will go north." The first said when he went to the south he would bring warm weather, the second said he would bring bad weather, the third told the people he would bring rather cold weather. The man who went to the north said that he would send very cold weather.

In order to get the wind to blow in any direction, the Indians used to conjure. Sometimes a rabbit is made of snow and set up to make the north wind blow. The north wind is the only wind the Saukteaux tried to bring, since it is the best hunting wind. Tops are spun by twisting them between the fingers or the palms of the hand to bring the north wind and snow. They continue to do this during the winter until the snow gets deep enough so that they can pursue game easily.

The only animal permanently domesticated by the Saukteaux is the dog. When traveling they frequently tie the dog's left fore-leg around his neck to keep him from running away. This is also done to prevent him from wandering among the wigwams. To keep him from biting and stealing food, a thong is tied around his muzzle so that he cannot open his mouth. McKenney¹ mentions this method of securing dogs among the Ojibway of Fond du Lac, where he said they tied "a Piece of wattap around their necks . . . putting one of the fore feet of the dog through it."

ART.

Little can be said on this interesting subject, since the Northern Saukteaux have lost almost every vestige of their ancient art. The Eastern Cree, poor as they are in material culture, have still retained more traces of their art than have the Saukteaux. In general, it may be said that there seems to be little or no symbolism. Art was generally either geometric and purely ornamental, or realistic and of religious portent. This, however, does not always hold good for while geometrical designs do occur on religious paintings, they are scarce, whereas realistic designs often appear purely decorative Fig. 55 shows a birchbark basket with incised geometric designs. In other cases realistic figures were observed. A drum which has on it a representation of a moose, a goose, and Wiséketcak, means that it may be used in supplication to either the animals or the spirits.

¹ McKenney, 334.

What bead or silk work was collected consisted, with one exception, of flower or fruit designs on pouches and moccasins. These designs are said to be of European origin or suggestion, the old painting being the pristine form of art among the Northern Saulteaux. Moccasins were never ornamented prior to the coming of Europeans. The exception mentioned is a

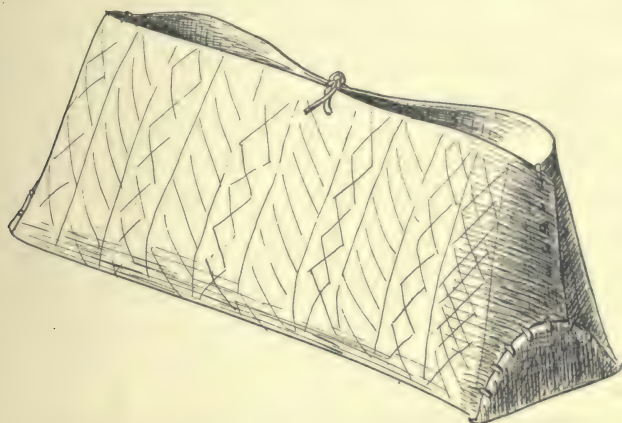


Fig. 55 (50-7974). A decorated Birchbark Basket.

pair of beaded leggings from Martens Falls, showing a flower design. Formerly, it is said that of clothing, only breechclouts were ornamented and this was with porcupine quills, a method now obsolete.

Paintings were once made on canoe prows, and these too were realistic. Geometric designs were painted on bears' skulls and bones for religious and protective purposes.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. ✓

[The social organization of the Saulteaux, probably never very strong, has been greatly broken up during the past half century. Owing to the less rigorous climatic and economic conditions prevailing throughout most of their territory, the Northern Saulteaux do not live such an isolated life as the Eastern Cree. Their winter camps usually contain several related families, though this does not always follow. It is said that in former times, the matriarchial exogamic clan system was known, but now all traces of this are practically lost. Certainly in former times, inheritance

was through the mother, with the exception of the allotted hunting grounds of a family, which will be commented on later. In some cases, a widow having a grown son-in-law permits him to take charge of her children and to act as their guardian, at least, so far as their marriages are concerned. The Northern Saulteaux have a considerable number of clans, which now have no importance whatever, and which are no longer exogamic. The existence of phratries could not be discovered. Owing to the wide extent of the Northern Saulteaux range, it is unusual for more than a few members of the same clan to inhabit the same territory. The writer was able to get the following list of clans at the Posts where we stopped: — at Lac Seul, deer, moose, bear, beaver, pelican; at Osnaburgh House, sturgeon, sucker, loon, caribou; and at Fort Hope, moose, sturgeon, loon, crow (raven?), goose, duck.

The snake and kingfisher clans were also reported, and the Indians admitted that there were more, the names of which they did not know. Clan animals are eaten by the members of the clan to whose totems they belong, but certain parts are tabooed. The clans never camped apart but always mingled freely.

In former times the chief was merely a man who attained power through his own ability and personal influence. All chiefs are now appointed by the government. Every adult male Northern Saulteaux has a certain well-known range over which he has the exclusive right of trapping and hunting game, known as "Tzikéwin," a word corresponding to home. This, by exception to the general rule of maternal inheritance, descends at his death to his nearest living relative, male or female in order of age. Of course, if this falls to the lot of a woman, her husband is permitted to use the territory. By exception, if a man leaves no sons of age, and had no nephews or nieces, his widow's oldest son-in-law may be permitted to use the territory. If, however, he has nephews or nieces, the land goes to them. The rules regarding the punishment for violation of the law against hunting on another man's lands are said to have been very strict at one time, but are now lax, although hard feelings and even blows frequently result from transgression.

Marriage. According to Long, a Northern Saulteaux, wishing to marry a girl, would go to her father and ask for her. If the father approved, an interview was appointed for which the lover prepared by taking a sweat bath. He then came into her presence and sat on the ground, smoking a pipe. As he smoked, he took one hundred small pieces of wood about an inch in length and threw them at her, one by one. She tried to catch these in a bark bowl and for everyone which she caught her lover had to make a present to her father, these presents being considered as payment for the

daughter. The young man then gave a feast to which the entire family was invited. After the feast they danced and sang their war songs. Presents were exchanged between the lover and the relations of the young woman. The father then covered the lovers with a beaver robe and gave them a new gun and canoe.¹

My informants stated that in the event of a young man wishing to marry a girl, he was formerly required to make a present of some kind to her father. In later years, a new gun or some steel traps was regarded as a good consideration. There was no further ceremony, the young woman was simply sent to live in her new husband's lodge at once. In case a girl had no father, her oldest brother-in-law had the right to give or refuse her in marriage. If she lacked a brother-in-law, her oldest brother had the privilege. Polygamy was common and was only limited by a man's means to maintain a harem. Men having thirteen wives are still remembered though five to seven were more common. It was always considered best to choose wives from a group of sisters, if possible, than to marry girls from different families. There were no regulations in regard to age, a man married when he became a successful hunter; a girl generally when she had reached the age of puberty, although instances of earlier marriage were noted. The custom of giving a young woman to a visiting stranger is still known.

Children were named as soon as they were born and a feast was given to celebrate the occasion. It is, or was, strictly tabooed to ask a man for his name. It must be obtained through someone else. Incidentally, the suffixes *nabé* (male) and *nojé* (female) are often affixed to personal and animal names. To the names of animals of which the sex is known, these suffixes are always attached. They refer to the sexual organs. Children were not trained in any way except by example. They were never struck and rarely reprovéd. Ridicule answered this purpose and praise was used to stimulate good efforts. They were sometimes forcibly restrained from mischief. McKenney says of the Ojibway of Fond du Lac, "Here was a sight worth seeing. At least two hundred children, some tied with strings and others with the tender roots of the cedar to the fastening of their mothers' petticoats."² They are not weaned until they were from four to six years' old. Teething children are allowed to chew on inflated fish bladders to cut their teeth.

Berdaches are rare, but are known everywhere. They habitually dress and act like women. It is said that the Indian name for these persons, who are invariably supposed to be hermaphrodites, is translated "split testicles."

¹ Long, 135.

² McKenney, 339.

Some berdaches have been known to take husbands and lived with them as their wives.

Menstrual Customs. A girl having her first monthly terms is confined to a small isolated lodge built for the purpose. During this period no communication of any kind is held with her, nor is she allowed to partake of any food. It could not be learned that any further customs were observed by the Northern Saulteaux except for the first period.

From all that the writer could learn the aged and infirm were well taken care of, but this was not always the case according to some of the older observers. Long states that among the Saulteaux, the aged men were sometimes killed by their sons and when an old man was reluctant to die, his children would sometimes offer him the alternative of being put ashore on some island with a canoe and paddles, bow and arrows, and a bowl from which to drink, to run the risk of starving. Long further states that the old people usually preferred to be killed according to custom. In the case of an execution of this sort, a sudatory was first made, a dog feast given, and the pipe of peace smoked. After this the following song was sung: —

“The Master of Life gives courage. It is true, all Indians know that he loves us, and we now give our father to him, that he may find himself young and enter their country, and be able to hunt.”

The songs and dances were then renewed and finally the son killed his father with a tomahawk. The body was then painted in the best manner and buried with the old man's war weapons. A bark hut was made to cover the grave so that wild animals would not disturb it.¹

RELIGION.

As the primary object of the Museum's expedition to the Saulteaux was to study their material culture, very little attempt was made to secure information in regard to shamanism and the midéwin, or medicine lodge society. As it is hoped that at no far distant date the notes collected among the Ojibway by the late Dr. William Jones may be published, any effort on the part of the writer to secure additional information would have been superfluous. However, in passing, a few notes were collected which will be given for what they are worth.

The southern bands of the Northern Saulteaux still maintain the medicine lodge in full force, although the northern bands have given it up. About thirty years ago Mr. Jabez Williams, manager of the Hudson's Bay

¹ Long, 73-75.

Company at Fort Osnaburgh House, Lake St. Joseph, attended a ceremony at the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods. At that time, an oval booth of willows and brush was built, and at either end were erected poles with ribbons attached, to each of which a white dog was tied. The men sat at one end of the booth and the women at the other. The dancers were led by the shaman highest in rank and the dancers were naked save for the clout and moccasins. Most of these were painted with white, the ribs and bones being marked on the skin, perhaps to represent jibai (ghosts or skeletons). The dancers held their medicine bags before them in front about waist high with both hands and danced in a circle about the poles. As they danced, they chanted an endless repetition of the syllables, "ho! ho! ho!" At intervals, some dancer would pause and pointing his medicine bag at a bystander or novice would bring it forward and upward with both hands until its head touched the man. This was "shooting the migis." A person so touched would fall to the ground and lie as if dead. This was repeated a great many times. At length, Mr. Williams, who was the only white man present was approached by several Indians who said that the dogs were to be killed and this no white person might see. He was led away a short distance where he remained while the dogs were strangled. After a time, he was sent for again and returned to the medicine lodge where all present took part in the dog feast. The custom of having a dog feast after or during the ceremony was also found at Lac Seul. Mr. Williams also saw songs and rituals of the midéwin which were written on birchbark.

Mr. Thomas Lawson, a half-breed servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Lake St. Joseph, also informed the writer that he had seen five Sioux scalps carried in a midéwin dance at Lac Seul fifty years ago. These were suspended from poles ornamented with ribbons.

Certain classes of shamans are said to procure intercourse with the spirits through the turtle as an intermediary. A conjuror wishing to exhibit his power permits himself to be bound hand and foot and thrust into a small dome-shaped tent. He summons his supernatural helpers, the lodge begins to shake, his clothes and the ropes with which he is bound are all thrown out of the lodge. After the performance is over, the shaman will be found naked and unbound inside the lodge. While these things are going on, the bystanders grovel on their hands and knees in a circle about the conjurors' lodge. The shaman, so far as could be learned, does not use the drum while in the lodge, but often, however, sings and drums at night while not in the lodge. In midé ceremonies, the rattle plays a secondary part, but a shaman at work uses the drum only. For this reason, drums are almost impossible to secure as specimens. Wooden figures were used by the shamans in malevolent conjuring. They were frequently set up

in the snow in winter or around on stumps for the purpose of injuring enemies.

In tending the sick, four or five midé are often present at one bedside. They make use of ermine (weasel), mink, otter, and young bearskins ornamented with beads and ribbons. These are considered to be actually embodied with power to perform various acts. They are called spirits and some claim that they are related to the personal guardian and dream spirit of the shaman. Actual medicines are also administered by the members of the society, but their use is so closely connected with the supernatural powers of the midé that when a shaman is converted to Christianity he very frequently destroys or caches his stock of herbs as he considers them connected with evil spirits with whom he formerly associated. The midé society rites are not practised north of Lac Seul although there are many Saulteaux living even at Fort Hope who were once members of this society. At the northern posts there were four degrees of the midéwin. The head conjuror, or midéo, resided at Lac Seul and it is said appointed one man of each degree at Fort Hope and probably at other posts. When one of these men died it was customary for the men of the next highest degree to move up and take his place.

A young man wishing to join the midéwin, must have a supernatural revelation in the form of a vision to this effect. It is practically impossible to learn the nature of any of these dreams, as no Indian will ever tell them, especially to a white man for fear that his power may be revoked. The following dream, however, was obtained from Wabus-inini, the oldest and most noted conjuror of the Northern Saulteaux residing at Fort Hope. It is given here as nearly as possible verbatim.

"When I was a young man I went away by myself, just as all young men do, and fasted for ten days. Then I had my dream. At first I dreamed that the world, was very small and empty. After a while there were two Indians upon it who lived there and suffered all the time. Then many people came from another country and supplied them with food and other things. Then I saw all kinds of animals, and fish, and birds. Someone, I did not know who, was going to look after them and take care of them and help the Indians to live and give the Indians one animal at a time to eat, and so they lived for a long time. Then I dreamed of a drum and how to make one and about the Great Spirit and the conjuring tent, and that the beating of the drum was the same as a prayer to the Great Spirit. The shadow of the conjuring tent reached to heaven and in the shadow I saw spirits moving back and forth. Then I knew that I was to be the one to take care of the Indians and that was the end of my dream."

A feast described by James Stewart as taking place at Beren's River

on the east shore of Lake Winnipeg is called the "Feast of the Metawain," but afterwards Stewart calls it the "Feast of the Long Life," which is apparently correct, although the ceremony seems to be one of the rites of the midéwin. Stewart names the society "The Metäwin" and he states that it exists from Lake Superior to the far north. It was established in the east by some supernatural characters, but knowledge of the exact location of this head lodge, which he claims still exists, has been lost through the migrations of the Saulteaux. From this original lodge, power was given to the participating shamans to found subordinate lodges. The first of these subordinate lodges was founded somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg five or six hundred years ago. The rites were to be performed every alternate year and from this lodge the various Indian tribes received permission to form other lodges.

Each lodge had officers which Stewart denominates the Grand Master of Medicine, the Master of Ceremonies, and other minor officers. The badge of membership was the skin of some small animal, such as beaver, mink, muskrat, owl, or even snake, highly ornamented with porcupine quills and containing personal charms and medicine. The Metäwin tent, which should be erected at the spring of the year, was long and narrow. The framework was covered with closely woven boughs to screen the operations from outsiders. The doors opened to the east and south.

Invitations were sent out by the chief shaman in the form of a piece of tobacco. The chief shaman and his assistants collected all the members of the Metäwin and approached the tent on the east side marching around it three times, following the course of the sun. At the third time around, the Grand Master halted opposite the entrance and advanced and retreated three times essaying to enter, meanwhile singing as follows:—

"I approach but fear
To be near thy presence,
Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh!"

As this chant is finished, his assistant, whom Stewart calls the Director of Ceremonies, lifted up the door with his wand, and the Grand Master entered followed by the members. He then chanted the following:—

"I have entered, I have entered,
Long life to gain, long life to gain
Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh! Oh!"

The members then marched around the inside of the tent three times, holding in their hands the skin bags and the migis shells. They sat around the lodge while the chief shaman took his stand with a drum and stick in his

hand near a human image at the head of the tent. He tapped the drum three times repeating the words, "Ne kan, ne kan, ken na nah ka na nah." He proceeds to address the company in somewhat the following strains. "The Great Spirit, who dwelleth in the heavens, bless you all and send you long life. The white haired man brings him life, and has given me life which I give to all my brothers and sisters. Our forefathers left us this tent to teach our children and your life depends upon the secrets of your own breasts. Prepare your magic beads (migis) and medicine skins of the tent of life, to cast your beads on the sick and dying men who may be placed before you to restore life. Your magic beads shall pierce the rocks, the spirits who preside over our secret councils shall bless your efforts to restore health and long life. The path of our ancestors teaching us the use of countless herbs and roots growing in this our world will sing the song of enchantment, when each member will offer with gratitude to his teacher, the offerings he may have brought with him to speak and receive long life."

Following this, several other speeches were made and then the members of the lodge marched about the tent several times, swinging their medicine bags and uttering a monotonous chant to the tune of the drum.

The candidates for admission to the secrets of the lodge were seated with the women and children along the sides of the tent. Suddenly the procession came to a halt opposite one of the candidates. The chief medicineman muttered something to the candidate and threw his medicine bag toward him, whereupon the candidate dropped to the ground as if shot. The medicinemen then gathered around in a kneeling posture and blew into his ears and mouth, shaking their medicine bags over him, at the same time making a soft rumbling noise. In a short time the candidate comes to life, and the march being resumed the slain man grasps his medicine bag and follows the procession. This ceremony was repeated until all the candidates had been initiated.

After the candidates had been admitted feats were performed by the individual shamans, such as swallowing migis beads and having them magically replaced in the medicine bag. After this has been done the offerings were taken down and given to the newly initiated candidates who in their turn distribute them among the medicinemen according to provisions made in a secret conclave shortly before the ceremonies. After this, the shamans again marched around the tent with a half trot, occasionally pointing their medicine bags at each other. The one pointed at immediately fell as if shot, but got up and followed the others. On some occasions, they seemed badly wounded, and unable to rise, and in this case the others gathered about the sufferer and after much ceremony made a show of extracting a bead from the body. If the bag was pointed at the body the

victim suddenly fell down motionless, but if the bag was pointed at the knees the candidate would become lame.

During the ceremonies the women and children were seated around the inside of the tent and feasted at intervals. The women would go out and tend the nets which were constantly set, and if any fish were caught they were brought in and cooked immediately.

If dogs entered the tent accidentally they were immediately dispatched and boiled. Several dishes full of dog meat and dog broth or sturgeon were set before the wooden images in the tent, but this food was divided among the medicinemen when the feast was over.

At this ceremony, admission was had by making presents of tobacco, tea, and sugar. These were deposited before wooden images of the goose, duck, fox, and other animals, which stood in the center of the tent. Down the middle of the lodge was a row of poles from which hung offerings described by Stewart as made by "those penitent sinners who came to obtain pardon for their misdeeds, and also the offerings of those who had made a good hunt during the past winter and of those who had recovered from sickness. These offerings consisted of various articles, such as pieces of printed calico, clothing, guns, knives, ammunition and other things. At the foot of each pole were placed roughly-made wooden images of various birds and other animals, while at the head of the tent, where the chief men sat, was a sort of image representing a human form, partly of wood and partly of clothing, which, I was informed, was the god of medicine. The spectators were seated close around the sides of the tent, sufficient space being left between the assembly and the line of the tent poles in the centre to allow those who performed their religious rites to march around, which was done in a sort of half run, half walk and part dance, and uttering a monotonous chant while the drum at the end of the tent kept up a continual tom-tom."¹

When Stewart had deposited his admission fee he partook of a feast of sturgeon. Others who came into the lodge after making their presents also received boiled sturgeon or dog meat in wooden dishes.

The origin of these rites is given by Stewart as follows:—

"Geeche Manitou, or the Great Spirit, revealed three mysterious ceremonies to man shortly after his creation, about the time the first pair had grandchildren born to them, and before death had entered into the world.

At the time there existed two powerful snakes which had existed from the beginning of the world, the rattlesnake and the natawa. They lived together in harmony for many years, but at length the rattlesnake grew jealous of the powerful and deadly natawa, which envy so increased that the rattlesnake challenged the

¹ Stewart, 95.

natawa to try which of them possessed the most deadly poison by inflicting a bite on mankind. The natawa demurred at first, not willing to disturb the peace and harmony which prevailed in the world, but from day to day the rattlesnake so taunted him with cowardice that the good-natured natawa consented to accept the challenge.

At that period there lived two powerful chieftains near to each other, who were on great terms of intimacy. Each had a son grown up to manhood who loved one another sincerely, and often used to hunt in the woods together. During one of these rambles it came to pass that the rattlesnake and the natawa waylaid them for the purpose of inflicting a wound on each to see which of their poisons was the most deadly. The young men, unconscious of danger, happened to pass the thicket where the two snakes were in ambush, when all of a sudden the two reptiles sprang upon them and gave each of them a sting. The young man who was bitten by the natawa instantly dropped dead from the effects of the poison, while the other had time to run to his father's tent, which, when he had reached, a noted medicine man applied a powerful antidote to the wound and he recovered in a few days.

After the deed was done the natawa snake was grieved and enraged at the rattlesnake by whose guile he had been instrumental in bringing death and sorrow to mankind.

'Brother,' said the natawa to the rattlesnake, 'you have been the cause of bringing death and misery to mankind by your envious and evil designs, therefore, you shall ever after this have a rattle in your tail to warn every human being who approaches you of your hateful presence, and the human race shall pursue you to death.'

The old chieftain, whose son had died of the poison, brought the body home, and with his tribe performed the burial ceremony. Every day the old chieftain repaired to the grave of his beloved son, and mourned his loss bitterly. The friends of the old man endeavored to console him in his grief, but he would not even speak to them.

During one of his daily visits to the grave of his son he saw an enormous snake striped with various colors like the rainbow ascending out of the earth, who thus addressed him: 'Old man of the plain, I command you to appear at this spot on the third day following this, and you must implicitly follow my directions and obey my commands. Then shall appear to you a snake on this very spot, he shall be sent by the gods. You will elevate the serpent three times by the horns, and at each time you raise him you shall repeat the words of adoration to the snake by saying *Ne Kau, ne Kau, Ka nah, Ka, Ka, nah*. Oh! oh! oh!' Immediately after you have performed, the snake shall appear to you as a manitou of your race, who will teach you the ceremony of the Metawin or the tent of life, and reveal to you the mysterious rites which come from the happy hunting grounds, and from the centre of the earth, and from the depths of the waters. The spirits take pity on your sorrows, and will help you if you obey them. Adieu my son, you will point to the centre of the heavens, the centre of the earth, and to the four abodes of the spirits with your pipe stem, while I slide down the perpendicular rock of our abodes.

At that instant the snake disappeared downwards with a tremendous hissing sound, caused presumably by the rapidity of his descent.

According to the instructions of the great snake the old man repaired to the grave of his son on the third day, and after pointing his pipe stem to the centre of the sky, and the earth, and the four winds, presented the offerings of the dead, then sat down, facing the body of his son, who according to Indian custom, was placed in the grave in a sitting posture with his face towards the east. At that instant he heard a

rumbling noise, and, lo, an enormous serpent appeared before him, having two horns, and whose jaws contained two rows of large teeth.

The serpent lay down and twisted itself into a circle around the grave. The old chieftain arose from his seat and took the serpent by the horns and elevated it three times, at each time repeating the magic words, 'Ne Kau, Kau nah, Ka Ka, nah.' At the third time the serpent changed its shape into that of a venerable old man with white hair, having a rod or wand in his hand, together with the fire bag of life made of the skin of the deadly natawa which contained the magic bead. He thus addressed the old chieftain.

'I have come to comfort and console you for the death of your son. The spirits of the earth, the wind, and the water have seen your sorrow, and I am sent to your race to show you the way of life which you will teach to your children, and which shall continue to the end of time. Now, therefore, light your pipe, and with your stem point to the sky, the abode of the Great Spirit, who shall give you life, to the abode of the spirits of the centre of the earth, whose will is to teach you the virtue of all herbs, and to the four winds who will protect you and give you power and success.'

After the old chieftain had completed pointing with his pipe stem to the sky, earth, and air, he offered his ghostly visitor the pipe, but the old man raised his wand and touched the mouthpiece, when, immediately was heard the tapping of a drum. After three knocks of this mysterious sound the old man commenced to repeat the following, 'Ne Kains, ne Kains, ne Kains, Kau nah, na ka nah.' He then chanted a song, of which the following is a translation:

'I come from the east,
Where the long tent does rest,
The Great Spirit does say,
Perform these rites alway.'

After chanting this medicine song for some time, the old man sat down near the chieftain, and taught him the ceremonies and rites of the long tent of life, which occupied some days, the Indians say the moon changed once during the time that the old chieftain was receiving his instructions in all secrets of the tent of life. After the old chieftain had been fully instructed his preceptor said:

'I will bless you with long life, and you shall have more sons, but forget not my instructions. I leave you this bag of natawa skin and the magic bead, and this wand. Beware, pollute not my tent of life. Adieu my son, I go hence, but I shall hear you when you chant the mysteries I have taught you.' Saying this the white-haired spiritual adviser vanished from the gaze of the old chieftain.

After some months, when the old chieftain's mourning was over, and after celebrating a feast with his tribe, he commanded that all males should assist him in building the long tent of life. During the evenings he employed himself in teaching the males of his tribe to sing the mysteries imparted to him by his spiritual teacher, and after having succeeded in giving them sufficient knowledge in all the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the tent of life, he appointed the various officers to the tent, but he, himself, was Grand Master.

During this time, which took several years to accomplish, the old chief was gladdened by having a son born to him, the very image of the one who died by the sting of the natawa."¹

¹ Stewart, 95-97.

The Northern Saulteaux concept of the Hereafter is, that there are two roads leading into the sky. One road is traversed by the souls of the good who travel there as fast as a bird can fly, immediately on leaving the body. Evil doers travel the other road on foot, very slowly and at last come to an evil place from which they cannot escape. Sometimes, however, bad persons are permitted to return after reaching this spot, as a warning to themselves and others to mend their ways. This is how the Saulteaux know about the Hereafter. Good persons who die never return. The Saulteaux do not remember what becomes of the souls of suicides and drowned persons, they are quite sure however, that still-born infants go to the same place as the others. There is a strong possibility that missionary influence has altered the original beliefs.

Doctors and Medicines. The Northern Saulteaux seem to be less acquainted with medicines and simples than the Eastern Cree. They also seem to rely more upon supernatural means than upon actual medicines for the curing of diseases. As a general thing, the physicians of these people may be divided into two classes; first, the purely shamanistic "conjurers," who must belong to one of the four degrees of the midéwin. These men, as has been stated above, depend almost entirely upon their supernatural power to cure their patients. While doctoring a patient, the shaman remained outside the lodge and never carried on his incantations within. In some instances, herbs, barks, and stones, etc., procured by supernatural means, or gathered according to directions received in dreams are used. Such medicines have absolutely no value except to the shaman himself, for he alone knows the uses of his remedies, for what diseases they are intended, and how to apply them. One method of obtaining these drugs is to set out a number of empty vessels or bark wrappers and then to retire to some secluded spot where the night is spent in song and prayer, accompanied by the burning of tobacco incense and the music of the drum. A box of medicines so acquired (Museum No. 50-8120), was obtained at Fort Hope. It was placed out in the woods to rot, when its owner, a noted shaman, died. In the morning a second person sent to the spot returns with the vessels all of which are filled with remedies, the use of which is vouchsafed to the shaman alone. Carved wooden dolls, used in medicinal practices are known to be in the possession of shamans, but details of their appearance or use could not be learned. The False Face society of the Iroquois and Delaware, once found among the Mississauga band of the Ojibway was never known to the shamans of the Northern Saulteaux. Beside the shamanistic doctors, there is a second class of healers, generally old women, who so far as could be learned use no supernatural means whatever in performing their cures. They rely on purely physical boluses, both internal and external. A col-

lection of these, as far as possible was obtained at Fort Hope on Lake Eabamet, from a famous medicine woman residing there. This list with several additional prescriptions obtained elsewhere was as follows:—

Diarrhoea, black willow, boiled and liquor taken internally.

Constipation, enema, see description below.

Dyspepsia, mint mixed with tea, boiled and mixed together, taken internally.

Bronchitis, etc., country tea, boiled and liquor taken internally.

Diphtheria, sore throat, spruce cones, held in the mouth and sucked,

Scrofula, spruce cones, boiled and liquor taken internally.

Cuts, cedar bark, inner and outer bark dried, scraped, and mixed together, saturated with fat and placed on wound.

Cuts and sores, balsam gum, placed over wounds and allowed to dry on.

Broken bones, first set, and bound with light splints until the wound stiffens, then light splints removed and heavier ones replaced.

In cases of constipation, an enema is injected. A bone tube is fastened to a bag made of a fish or rabbitskin. In making this instrument the hair is plucked off the skin, the legs tied up, the skin blown up and allowed to dry, forming a water-tight translucent bag. This is kept folded up with the tube attached until needed, when it is filled with water mixed with grease and fish liquor. The tube is greased and forced into the aboral opening and the water injected by gently pressing the bladder. For toothache and headache, a cross is tattooed on either cheek (p. 124), and for rheumatism the same thing is done on the leg and arms. In former times, fees were paid for successful cures, but this practice is no longer continued.

Pneumonia, consumption, and La Grippe are the best known and most fatal diseases to the Northern Saulteaux. In spite of their great immorality, syphilis and gonorrhea are almost unknown. They have been swept with measles in the early ninety's, but have not yet had smallpox.

Insanity is by no means unknown. Instead, however, of regarding idiots as being under the special protection of the spirits, they are thought to be possessed of devils and are accordingly killed by shooting or strangling and their bodies burned. Formerly, they were burned alive and it is strongly suspected that this is still occasionally done. Owing to the hard life led by these people, cripples and deformed persons are frequent.

The sudatory or sweating lodge is at present used medicinally but never ceremonially by the Saulteaux. Long, however, sometimes mentions its use as part of a ceremony preliminary to adoption.¹ It is a sovereign cure for all diseases. After the lodge has been put up, a fire is built outside

¹ Long, 74.

near by and a lot of pebbles are heated. These must be granite, as the Indians say no other stones will answer the purpose. When they are as hot as possible they are carried into the lodge by means of pliable green sticks or withes bent about them in order to form a handle. Prior to bringing them in a lot of small cold stones are placed on the floor of the lodge for if the hot rocks were laid directly on the ground they would soon get cold. The hot stones are then placed in a circle directly in the center of the lodge,

a bare space being left all about them for the patient to kneel upon. The patient takes the stones up with a withe as above described and drops water upon them one at a time until they are all cold, when he comes out sweating profusely. If it is summer he takes a cold plunge, but in the winter he simply sits naked in the wind until he is cooled off.

Hunting Customs. The animal to whom the Saulteaux show the most consideration, if not veneration, is the black bear. When an Indian catches a bear in his trap, a few words of apology and explanation are addressed to the animal which is then killed and dressed up in all the finery obtainable, and is laid out to look like a human being. A Saulteaux at Sandy Lake, not far from Dinorwic, gave the following reasons for this custom. "The bears have a king, or chief, and the orders of this chief must be obeyed. Sometimes he orders a bear to go to an Indian trap. When a dead bear is dressed up it is done as an offering or prayer to the chief of the bears to send more of his children to the Indians. If this were not done, the spirit of the bear would be offended and would report the circumstance to the chief of the bears who would prevent the careless Indians from catching more." When an Indian eats a bear he puts up a pole upon which are hung the skin of the animal's muzzle, his ears, skull, and offerings of tobacco and ribbons. The pole shown in Fig. 56 was erected by Babiwash, a Lac Seul Saulteaux, in June, 1909. He refused to sell the pole or any of the objects upon it for fear that the next bear he met would attack him. On the lower part of the pole the bark was allowed to remain intact, but at intervals of about three feet, peeled spots about a foot in length were rubbed with red ocher. The skull, ears, and skin of the muzzle were fastened on with offerings to the spirit of the dead bear.



Fig. 56. A bear Pole. Drawn from a Photograph.

At Sandy Lake, the writer saw an old Saulteaux woman take the shoulder blade of a bear and make transverse marks across it with charcoal, each bar meaning a prayer for a successful year of life for the slayer. This should have been hung on the bear pole but was obtained by the writer before the pole was erected.

Some of the Saulteaux claim that in erecting the bear pole the skull should be painted with charcoal, but with no other pigment. Tobacco should be hung at the center of the pole and the skin of the bear's chin should also be suspended from it. As these customs were found only among the most northern of the bands, it is very possible that together with the custom of calling the bear by several names, it was derived from their near neighbors, the Eastern Cree. The bear's skull is not painted, as is the custom among the Eastern Cree, nor is it kept in the house of the slayer before hanging it up, nor do the Saulteaux ever paint the bearskin inside. A bear which for any reason is not eaten after it has been killed is not honored in this way. Bears' bones are never given to the dogs but are hung out of their reach. Bear poles are very frequently seen on the journey from Lac Seul to Lake St. Joseph on deserted camp sites but are not found north of this.

Near Lake Abittibi, we find the following: — "On one of the islands we discovered two Indian huts, but from their appearance no person had visited them for a length of time. About half a mile from the place we saw a high pole, daubed all over with vermilion paint; on the top were placed three human skulls, and the bones hung round: The Indians suppose that it had been erected many years."¹

The tongue and heart of the bear may not be eaten by women. In the event of a bear being killed by a member of a camp, the slayer always receives the brisket, head, and heart, as his portion. This is true of other large game. A young man who has killed his first bear or other big game has a feast made in his honor and sits up the entire night drumming and singing prayers for his future success.

Should a man find a bear's winter den during the summer and desire to slay the animal the following winter, he takes a bullet from his pouch and after warning it not to tell anyone and to prevent others from finding the spot, he lays it by the hole, expecting it to guard his prize until he returns. Bears slain in their lairs in winter should never be shot, but rather knocked on the head with a club. According to the Saulteaux, when the bear makes his hole, he takes all kinds of animals with him to live on in the winter. They, however, believe that if he takes them from the territory covered by

¹ Long, 161.

the route of a single trapper, the man will have bad luck; but if he draws them from the trails of several trappers, no harm will be done. If the bear sees a trapper he may throw out game to him, counting on the man's mercy in return for his charity. If a man kills lean animals at the beginning of his winter's hunt it is a sign that he will kill a bear, but if the animals are fat he will not kill one.

The *Saulteaux* admit that like the Eastern Cree they have various names for the bear, but they refuse to tell these to white people for fear that ill success will attend them. While the proper name of the bear is mukwuh, he is also known as oputowan, but the meaning of the latter term could not be found.

The beards of moose and portions of moose skin are hung on poles or trees to mark the spot where a moose has been killed. These are often observed when traveling, at deserted camps and other places where moose have been killed. On deserted camp sites on Lake St. Joseph, the writer saw the skulls of moose together with bears' ears, bird wings, and skulls, and moose bones hung up on trees.

The writer has also seen dogs fed with moose bones; but the bones of beaver, mink, otter, muskrat, loon, and duck should be thrown back into the water whence they came, or hung on poles so that no animals, especially dogs, can get them, for if this happens, the Indians will not be able to catch them any more. None of these customs are as strong or as much observed towards the northern part of the *Saulteaux* range as they are in the south. A few years ago a raccoon was killed at Fort Hope. It was the only one the natives had ever seen. It was therefore considered to be an evil spirit and the flesh was burned. While this custom has long fallen into disuse the clan or totem animal should be tabooed by members of that clan and their guardian animals are protected by the individuals to whom they are sacred.

WAR.

The Northern *Saulteaux* have not been at war with any tribe with the exception of the so-called "Little Crane," for a good many years and as most of the older men who remembered the old order of things, died during the La Grippe epidemic of the winter of 1908-9, very little information concerning this phase of their life could be obtained. As a matter of fact, the Northern *Saulteaux* were for the greater part beyond the reach of Sioux and Iroquois war parties on the south, and their friendly neighbors, the

Eastern Cree, formed a northern barrier between them and the Eskimo and Chipewyan. Stories of skirmishes with the "Little Crane"¹ are frequent. These clashes and reprisals formed a sort of guerilla warfare which existed up to the last few years. The Sioux formerly penetrated as far as Lac Seul, and a point on Lake Minnatakie is known as "Sioux Lookout" for it is said to have been used as a point from which the Saulteaux watched for the enemy. Pictographs in red on rocks near by are said to represent battles between the Sioux and Saulteaux. Sioux scalps are said to have played an important part in a medicine ceremony held at Lac Seul some fifty years ago.

Armor was unknown to the Northern Saulteaux, nor were shields in use. Special war clothes of a type now obsolete were worn. Bone-headed spears, clubs, and bows and arrows were the weapons used. The war dance preceded the going to war, and was accompanied by conjuring on the part of the shaman. Warriors were trained to dodge and strike aside the arrows of the enemy and therefore had no use for shields. This training was formerly begun at a very early age. Prisoners of war were not maltreated but were either killed on the spot or adopted. Scalping was common; the entire skin of the scalp was removed instead of a small circular piece at the crown. Prior to going to war, the warriors invariably changed their names. The following formula for the actions of the midéo prior to a battle and description of the conflict was obtained from Wabus-inini, a very aged man residing at Fort Hope on Lake Eabamet:—

"When they went out to war, the head man called the warriors together at some secret spot in the forest which had been previously agreed upon. Then the chief looked over the warriors and determined whom he could rely upon. The shaman took his pipe and filled it and sent it through the air towards the enemy. In the meantime, the enemy did the same thing. When the enemy's war pipe arrived, the chief and his party smoked it. When the pipe was nearly empty, the shaman made it walk. Then the war party heard something making a noise, first in the east, then in the north, then in the south, and last of all in the west. Then the members of the party who had been sitting about in a circle watching the performances of the shaman, rose to their feet, and saw the thing which was making the noise. A bat would appear and from him they would learn the position and number of the enemy. Then the chief took the men he had picked out and they approached the enemy. When they got in range, they commenced to fire at each other and the arrows fell like snow. There were many of them, for every man carried two hundred arrows to battle. They approached silently through the forest from tree to tree, and the only sound

¹ An unidentified tribe, perhaps an isolated band or even clan of the Eastern Cree, occupying the region lying north of Cat Lake.

to be heard was the crying out of the wounded. When the battle was over, the bodies of the enemy were scalped. Then the chief of the war party invited all the Indians for miles about to a feast and there was a dance. The wild animals came and devoured the bodies of the slain."

Before going to war, the shaman would take a piece of smoked glass and gaze into it for a time, and would then see the enemy in it and be able to tell their numbers and position. Another tribe with whom the Saulteaux warred were called the "Pawnuks". These people, whom the writer could not identify, came from the south. Although, as above stated, the Northern Saulteaux have not been at actual war for a good many years, it is only recently that they ceased carrying their rifles with them when they go to the Posts to trade for fear of the "Little Cranes."

Long says:—"The women and children sometimes go forward in their canoes singing the war songs, and encamp every evening at sun-set, having a great dislike to travelling in the dark. Forty-eight young warriors are placed, in four divisions, to keep guard at night, armed with guns, bows and arrows, and some scotté wigwas, or fire bark, to light in case of sudden surprise."¹

MORTUARY CUSTOMS.

Burials were formerly of three kinds: subterranean, tree, and scaffold. Under certain circumstances, cremation was resorted to occasionally. In the case of subterranean burials, the body was washed and laid out straight, not drawn up, or flexed. A shallow hole, the length of the person, was dug and lined with bark. The weapons and utensils of the deceased were placed in the grave at the head of the body, which was wrapped in bark. Sometimes the utensils were hung on a pole or on a tree at the head of the grave. If the dead man was a midéo, his medicines were always treated in this manner. Kohl says that the Ojibway dwelling north of Lake Superior have a custom of taking the corpse of a person who died in the wigwam out through a hole made in the side of the house instead of through the door.² As soon as the body was interred the father, mother, sister, brother, wife, husband or some other near relative of the deceased built a fire near the grave. A kettle was at once boiled over this fire for the use of the spirit of the departed on its way to the hereafter. This performance was sometimes observed daily for as long as a month after the interment. Sometimes

¹ Long, 79.

² Kohl, 149.

the mere convention of placing firewood and matches by the grave was all that was gone through. In more recent days a small angular roof of bark was built over the grave. This type of burial was the common form among the more northerly bands excepting that there the grave roof or house was omitted, a pole with a flag made of a strip of cloth was erected at the head of the grave. Young mentions that an old Saulteaux man who died in the winter was buried under his wigwam as the ground outside was frozen too hard to permit the Indians to dig into it. The spot chosen was where the fireplace had been, for here the ground was softest. The wigwam was removed after the interment.¹ Judging from the conditions under which skeletons of New York Coastal Algonkin on Long Island and Staten Island, the writer has come to this conclusion independently concerning the local natives.²

"Skeletons are sometimes found in shell or fire pits, and this may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that, if the death occurred in winter when the ground was frozen, digging graves with the primitive tools at the command of the Lenapé was a serious if not impossible matter; hence, the corpse may have been placed in a refuse pit and covered with débris, an easier process than grave digging."

Again, bodies were carefully wrapped up in bark and placed on a scaffold. The arms, utensils, etc., of the corpse were hung on a pole beside the grave. The tree burial closely resembled the latter form, save that the body was placed among the branches of a tree instead of upon a scaffold.

South of the Saulteaux region near the Lake of the Woods, Mr. Jabez Williams, now manager for the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Osnaburgh, on Lake St. Joseph, informs the writer that he found an Ojibway burial of a different type. On the cross beams of a deserted cabin a wooden box, or coffin, was discovered. There were six or eight holes in the cover of the box directly over the mouth of the corpse to let the spirit escape. Inside, the body was carefully wrapped in bark.

No difference in the method of burial of still-born infants, suicides, and drowned people could be learned, although, especially in the latter case, many old people were strongly of the opinion that there was a special order of burial observed. Insane people were usually burned alive, but in more recent times, they have been shot or strangled and then cremated.

When a death occurs in a lodge it is at once deserted by its occupants. Sometimes, among the more southern bands, at least, eight or ten shots are fired to announce the death. The body is buried as quickly as possible. The widow lets her hair hang loose and tears it hysterically, while she

¹ Young, 220.

² This series, Vol. 3, 50.

shrieks and wails, but, at present, at least, she does not scarify herself. She may not marry again for a year. As soon as the body is interred, the neighbors enter the lodge and take possession of all the belongings of the deceased. A dying shaman would often command that his house and especially all his personal effects be burned after his death. The medicines, the use of which were only known to him, and which he used by means of his personal magic were cached at a secret spot on a distant island.

NORTHERN SAULTEAUX TALES.

The following tales were obtained at Martens Falls Post on the Albany River.

OMISHUS.

There was once a man and his wife who had two children. They were both boys. The man was a great hunter and used to kill a good many deer. Often, when he came home from the chase he would find his children had been crying all day. He asked his wife, "What are our children crying about?" The woman replied, "When I leave them in the tent while I go to get firewood, they always start to cry." But the man did not believe it and made up his mind that he would watch his wife and find out what she did to the little ones in his absence.

One day, he pretended to set out but he did not go very far. Then he returned. After he was gone, the woman dressed herself, combed her hair, and went out of the wigwam carrying her ax. The woman went over to a big tree. She pounded on the tree with the ax. Immediately, a man came out of the tree. He took the woman in his arms, *et longe cum ea concubuit* so that she did not go home to her children, for *totem diem concubuit*. After the man saw what his wife was doing he went away. He killed a deer, and returned to his lodge.

He told his wife to get the deer and bring it home. After she had gone, he put on her dress and took up her ax and went out. He went to the famous tree and pounded on it. The man came out again and he killed him, and cut off his head. He took a little blood. Then he started to cook the man's blood mixed with deer's blood. After a time, his wife came home with the carcass of the deer he had killed. He gave her some of the man's blood and venison to eat. After she had finished her meal, he inquired,

"How did that blood taste?" She replied, "This is deer's blood." "No, that is your paramour's blood you have been eating," replied the husband. Then he killed her too.

He cut off her head, and went away, deserting his children. The younger child began to cry and continued to weep. Then he went to his mother's body trying to get nourishment from her dead breasts. While he was doing this, the woman's head began to move and her eyes opened. This frightened the children terribly and they ran away. As they ran, they heard something following. It was their mother's head rolling after them. The head nearly caught up to them. Then the oldest boy threw a needle on the trail behind them. The head came to this and stopped for a while, so the children got a long start. At last, the head, all smeared with blood, caught up to them again. Then the oldest lad threw away his comb behind them.

"Let this be a high mountain," cried the child. Sure enough, a great mountain sprang up and crossed the trail. At last, the children came to a river, where they saw swans swimming. They wished to get across and begged the swans to save them as there was a Windigo (Cannibal) chasing them. A swan came over and took the boys across. He told them not to sit near his neck as they rode across for he had a scab there. After he had ferried the children over the swan continued to swim about the river.

At length, the head came to the river, and began to roll backward and forward along the shore seeking to get over. The head saw the swan and called out, "Take me across the river." The swan said, "No." Then the head said, "Those are my children that went across the river." Then the swan said, "No, the children said that a Windigo was following them." So the head repeated, "Those are my children, take me across, and when you have done so, licet mecum coire." The swan replied, "Quo modo tecum coeam, cum corpus tibi absit?" Caput dixit, "Per foramen magnum."

The swan agreed and started to take the head across. He told the head not to touch his neck on account of the scab, and started to ferry it across. The head started to rub the swan's neck and this hurt him, he spread his wings and shook them until the head fell into the river and was drowned.

Although the river was very broad, the two children threw stones across from the other side. The little chap began to cry again, so the eldest brother found a nice round stone and gave it to him. They threw their stones at it. One of them hit it and it sank out of sight. While they were playing they saw a sturgeon leap out of the water. It seems the head had been turned into a sturgeon. That is why the sturgeon has fleshy cheeks unlike other fish.

While they were playing at the edge of the water, they saw someone approaching in a canoe. He came ashore and stood in the canoe looking

at the boys for a little while. Then the man wished one of the stones would fall in his canoe. The next stone did fall in his canoe. It was the nice round stone which the oldest boy had given to the little one when he cried. The oldest one cried out to the man, "Bring us that stone, so that my little brother may have it to keep him from crying." The man told the oldest brother to come over and get the stone himself. The boy came to get the stone, and the man tripped him with his paddle so that he fell in his canoe. Then, the old man whose name was Omishus, pounded on the bottom of his canoe with his paddle, and off it went without paddling.

The youngest boy began to cry because he had been left behind, but Omishus left him to his fate. Then Omishus came to his tent. He pulled his canoe ashore and turned it over. Then he went into his lodge. He had two daughters who were waiting for him. He said to the oldest one, "I have brought a man with me, you had better go and see him." So the girl went out to see the young man. She looked under the canoe, but as soon as she saw him, she decided that he was too homely, and she would n't marry him. When she returned to the wigwam, Omishus asked her, "What do you think of my guest?" "He is too ugly," replied the girl. Then Omishus told his youngest daughter that she had better go and see his captive. "He was good looking when I took him in the canoe," said he, "he has been crying a great deal, that is what makes him ugly." The youngest daughter went down and washed away the tear marks from the young man's face, dressed him up, and married him.

The young man stayed with Omishus for a long time and his wife became the mother of two children. One day, the young man said to his father-in-law, "I wonder where we could get some gulls' eggs?" The old man replied that he would show him a fine place. They took their bows and arrows and off they started in the canoe. At last, they came to the place where the gulls were on an island. "There are the gulls," cried the young man. "Well," said Omishus, "go over across where the big ones are." The young man at once took his bow and arrows and started over to get some eggs.

As soon as the young man was well ashore, the old man pounded on the canoe bottom with his paddle and off it went. "Here you are, gulls," he cried, "I give you my son-in-law to eat." The deserted son-in-law saw a very large gull flying towards him. It approached the young man meaning to kill him, but he cried out, "I'm not the right kind of food for gulls, fly over the old man's canoe."

The old man was lying back in his magic canoe looking at the sky, pounding on the canoe bottom all the time. "When you are directly over the old man, void your excrement full in his face," cried the young chap.

The old man jumped and cried, "Phew! that's the kind of smell the excrement of the gulls has after they have eaten my son-in-law."

Then the young man killed the great gull and cut off its head. He took it home with some gulls' eggs. He gave each of his children an egg and he told them, "When your grandfather arrives, go down to meet him and eat your eggs at the same time." At length, the old man came. The two children went down to meet him, eating their eggs, as they were told. When the old man saw them eating the eggs, he asked, "Where did you get those eggs?" "Our father brought them to us," said they. "Poor children," said the old man, "the gulls have long ago eaten up your father."

When the old man had landed he went straight to his camp and there sat his son-in-law inside the wigwam with the head of the big gull beside him. The wicked old man was surprised, for the gull was the embodiment of one of his dreams. The oldest girl was now frightened and wished she had married her brother-in-law and cast many looks at him. The old man observed this, and said to her, "Why are you looking at your brother-in-law so hard? Go and sit by his side." Now, the young man had two wives.

The young man said, one day, "I wonder where I could get a sturgeon to make glue?" "I'll show you," said the old man, so off they went together. "There is a sturgeon," cried the young man. The old man said, "No, that is not a good one. He has not got good isinglass. We will go farther on." At last, they came to a place where there were plenty of sturgeon. The old man said to his son-in-law, "You stand on the gunwales of the canoe with your bow and arrow to look for sturgeon." At length, they came to very deep water, and the old man pounded hard on his canoe. The canoe jumped ahead so quickly that the young man was thrown into the water. Then the old man cried out to the great snakes that live in the water, "I feed you my little son." The young man sank to the bottom and there he saw a great snake coming after him. "I am not the right food for snakes," said he. "Take me ashore." The snake had horns. The young man took hold of them and the snake ferried him ashore. "If you hear the thunder," said the snake, "tell me." The snake soon heard the thunder and he asked the young man about it, but the young man replied, "I see no clouds." At length, it thundered very close to them, and the snake heard it certainly and saw the lightning as well. This made the snake drop his burden and turn back. He splashed the water away up as he fled. The young man struggled ashore and reached home. He first killed some sturgeon. When he got home he told his wives to cook some of the meat.

Then he told his children to go down to the water's edge and meet their grandfather. "Eat some of the sturgeon meat before him," he said. After

a while, their grandfather came back. The two children went down to meet him, eating some of the sturgeon meat as they were told. When the old man saw them eating the sturgeon he asked, "Where did you get that sturgeon meat?" "Our father brought it to us," said they. "Poor children, the great horned water snakes have long ago eaten up your father." When the old man had landed he went straight to his camp, and there sat the young man inside the wigwam. The wicked old man was surprised for the horned water snake had been the embodiment of one of his dreams.

One day, the young man asked his father-in-law where they could get an eagle. They went off together. "There is an eagle," cried the young man. "No, come farther on," said the old man, "I know where there is a big nest." At last the old man pointed out a nest, and left the young man there while he went over to it. The young man climbed the tree. When he was there the old man called out to the eaglets, "I feed you my son-in-law," and went away. The young man asked the two eaglets that were in the nest what their names were. He asked the female first, "Owatci," said she. The male bird said, "I am a tree as straight as you are when you stretch yourself." So he killed them both, and took them home. Then the last of the old man's dreams had failed. The young man had the eaglets cooked and gave one of each to his children. He told his children to go down to the water's edge and meet their grandfather. "Eat the eaglets before him," he said.

After a while their grandfather came back. The two children went down to meet him, eating the eaglets, as they were told. When the old man saw them eating the eaglets he asked, "Where did you get those eaglets?" "Our father brought them to us," said they. "Poor children, the eagles have long ago eaten your father." When the old man had landed he went straight to his camp and there sat the young man inside the wigwam. The wicked old man was surprised for the eaglets had been the embodiment of one of his dreams. "I wonder," said the young man one day in the winter, "where we can kill a caribou?" "I know," said the old man, "we will go to-morrow, I'll go with you." So off they went. They had to camp over night in a swamp. The old man told his son-in-law that the name of the swamp was (scorched-up-swamp, Jitéomuskeg). The young man, when he heard this thought, "Surely you want to burn my moccasins?"

Then they went to bed. The fire nearly went out, but the old man got up and took his son-in-law's moccasins and leggings and burned them. Then the old man went back to bed and cried out, "Phoo! Your moccasins are burning." Then the young man laughed, "Those were your own moccasins you burnt. I changed mine for yours when you slept, and I saw you when you put them in the fire."

In the morning, the young man dressed himself and left Omishus and

went home. He took his father-in-law's canoe because one of his wives could make it go as well as her father. After they crossed the sea, they left the canoe tied to a tree near the shore. The old man started to heat a stone in the fire. When it was hot he tried to roll it through the snow to melt a path for his bare legs. It did not succeed. Then he rubbed charcoal on his legs. "I dreamt about caribou long ago, and I ought to be able to walk as they do on the snow without any trouble," said he. At last he reached the sea. Then he was very angry because his canoe was gone. He started to shout, "My canoe, my canoe, my canoe!" His canoe heard and began to pull and move back and forth to get away. Then his son-in-law said to his wife, "You had better let the canoe go." She did and it went off to the old man and they never saw him again.

WISKEJACK.

Once Wisekejack was living with Wolf. Wolf was accustomed to hunt caribou every day. Wisekejack said to Wolf, "My nephew, I dreamed last night that if, when you are chasing caribou, you come to a creek, you need not jump across. Take a little twig and throw that ahead of you."

When Wolf went hunting he got very close to the caribou. There was a creek between the caribou and Wolf. It was a very small creek, so narrow that Wolf could easily jump over. Wolf thought it was not worth while to throw the stick, and tried to jump. He fell in the middle of the creek and was drowned.

By and by, Wisekejack began to miss Wolf and tracked him to learn what had become of him. The trail lead to the creek. Wisekejack looked on both sides of the creek but he could only find Wolf's tracks on the near side of the creek and not on the far side. When Wisekejack saw this, he sat down and began to cry, for he guessed what had happened.

As Wisekejack sat there crying, along came Kingfisher. He caught Kingfisher and rubbed the top of his head. This made Kingfisher cry out, "I want to tell you something, I am looking for Wisekejack." Then Wisekejack said, "Come, tell me, and I will give you my handkerchief." Wisekejack gave his handkerchief to Kingfisher and hung it around his neck. (This accounts for the white band of the belted Kingfisher, the crest of the same bird was caused by Wisekejack when he rubbed his head because the feathers were stroked the wrong way.)

Kingfisher told Wisekejack, "The panther took away your Wolf." There were three panthers on that creek, they lived in the water and came out to bask when the sun was warm.

Wisekejack went to the edge of the water and stood there. Near by, there was a big spruce tree with a hollow inside. Wisekejack climbed into the hollow. While he was there, all of a sudden, a white panther came out of the water. The lion said, "Who is that standing there? That is surely Wisekejack."

Then the panther came up to Wisekejack and put its tail around his waist and tried to pull Wisekejack into the water. He could not budge him at all. The panther said, "This seems to be no person, but a tree." Then all three of the panthers tried to pull Wisekejack into the water, one after the other. The last panther was the biggest and Wisekejack had a hard time to avoid being overcome.

After this, the panther thought it was time to have a sleep on the rock. They used to sleep there all day, especially on hot days. Wisekejack decided to attack them while they slept. He took his bow and arrows with him and shot first at the big one. He hit the panther but he did not kill him, and all the panthers jumped into the water.

Then Wisekejack, who had been in the water, came out and went away from there. After he had been walking for some time he heard someone coming towards him singing:—

"Yiciewekwaki nishenawishkan.

Yiciewekwaki nishenawishkan.

Yiciewekwaki nishenawishkan."

"Then end of the world, when I rattle."

Very soon he saw some person approaching, so he went to meet him. This fellow had a drum on his back and a rattle in his hand, which he was using. Well, this person was Toad.

"Where are you going?" asked Wisekejack. "I heard Wisekejack fire at the panther. I'm going to see the wounded panther and cure him with my medicine," replied Toad. "Let me see how you will cure him," said Wisekejack. Toad put down his drum and began to sing. He sat down and raised his rattle before him, shaking it transversely before his body. Then Toad bowed his head on his breast and sang. While he was doing this, Wisekejack knocked him on the head and killed him. Then he skinned Toad and put on his skin. Then he started back to see Panther. When he got there he commenced walking around the place where he shot Panther. He heard someone talking there. "Hello," said a lion. "I guess that is the man we wanted to come." So Wisekejack went into Panther's lodge. He saw the wounded panther lying down in his lodge. Panther was nearly dead, for Wisekejack's arrow was sticking out of his side. Panther gave Wisekejack some food, for they thought he was Toad.

When Wisekejack had finished he found his assumed skin was drying and tightening. He was afraid that he might be discovered, so he told the two uninjured panthers to go out and leave him with the sick one. "I don't like to have you see me make my medicine," he said, so they went out.

Then Wisekejack went to the wounded panther and took him by the throat so he could not cry out. Then he took hold of the arrow and pushed it in until it killed him. Then he skinned Panther and cut the hide into a long thong. He stretched the thong back and forth across the lodge. After he had done this, he saw the skin of his friend, Wolf, in the lodge. He took it and went away. Wisekejack told the other panther if they wanted to cure their comrade they must tap on the ground with a stick. It seems the panthers went into the sick room. When they saw the dead panther they cried out, "It seems Wisekejack has killed our brother!" The panthers decided to kill Wisekejack by making a flood. They caused the waters to rise until he had no place to go. Then Wisekejack set out to build a raft. All the animals came to see Wisekejack on his raft, and got on with him.

At last, you could see nothing but water. So Wisekejack thought to himself, "I wonder if I could make any land?" He took a string and tied it to Beaver's tail and told him to swim down to the bottom and get some mud. "If you reach bottom pull the string like this," said Wisekejack, giving it several short jerks. The beaver went down and soon began to pull on the string. Wisekejack pulled Beaver up hand over hand. When he got Beaver to the surface, he was drowned. So Wisekejack blew on Beaver and he came to life again. Then Wisekejack tried with Otter. Otter was also drowned, and Wisekejack brought him to life again also. Then he tried Muskrat. The rat went down further than either Beaver or Otter. When Wisekejack pulled him up he too was dead, but Wisekejack found he had mud on his head, mouth and hands, under his arms and between his legs. Wisekejack brought him to life in the same way that he did the others. Then he started to make land with the dirt Muskrat had brought up. He made it bigger and bigger all the time. At last, it was so big that there was room on it for all the animals. Then Wisekejack told Crow to "fly around this land I have made and see how big it is." The crow went, but soon returned, saying it was too small. Then Wisekejack told the crow to fly around once more. The Crow did so and reported that the earth was pretty big. But Wisekejack still thought it was too small. Then he told Wolf, "Try to run around the earth and see how large it is." So Wolf said, "I'll go, but if I never come back, this land will be big enough." Wolf never came back.

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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CROW INDIANS.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION	181
HISTORY	183
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION	186
THE CLAN	186
THE CLAN SYSTEM	189
LIST OF CLAN AFFILIATIONS	196
ORIGIN TRADITIONS	200
THE FATHER'S CLAN	201
Contests	202
Joking Relationship	204
RÉSUMÉ	206
RELATIONSHIP	207
TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP	207
COMRADES	212
PSYCHIC INTERCOURSE	213
NAMES	215
BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD	218
MENSTRUATION	220
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE	220
CALLING OFF MISTRESSES' NAMES	224
BERDACHES	226
DEATH	226
GOVERNMENT	228
WAR CUSTOMS	230
OATHS	238
SONGS OF PRAISE	241
RECKONING OF TIME	242
CLUBS	243
MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS	244
BIBLIOGRAPHY	247
ADDENDUM	248

INTRODUCTION.

I first visited Crow Agency in the summer of 1907, making a general survey of the field in the interests of the American Museum of Natural History. In 1910 I began a more systematic study of the military and ceremonial organizations, which was continued the following summer. In the course of these investigations considerable material accumulated on the clans and social customs of the Crow, and a very brief, fourth visit to the reservation in 1912 enabled me to fill in a number of gaps in my knowledge and to present a fairly systematic outline of the subject. On some points the evidence is contradictory, and, in spite of the generous assistance of various Indians, there are doubtless many sins of omission. Nevertheless, the essential points, I believe, are covered in the following presentation. It may be well to state that the chapter on War Customs is not meant to give a full treatment of the subject, but is merely an outline included on account of the social aspects of military life.

I feel under the greatest obligations to many residents of the Crow Reservation, who have been of material assistance in the progress of my work there, but must acknowledge my greatest indebtedness to my interpreters in the several districts of the Reservation: Messrs. James Carpenter and Robert Yellow-tail of Lodge Grass; David Stewart of Reno; Henry Russell of Pryor; and Ralph Saco of the Bighorn District.

This paper will be followed by studies of other phases of Crow culture.

The approximate phonetic values of letters employed in writing Crow words are indicated in the following list:—

a, e, i, o, u	Continental vowels
a, e, i, o, u, above the line	parasitic vowels
ĕ	English <i>a</i> in <i>bare</i>
E	obscure vowel
ai	English <i>i</i> in <i>bite</i>
au	English <i>ou</i> in <i>house</i>
b, d	weakly nasalized, related to <i>m</i> and <i>n</i>
c	English <i>sh</i> , not always easily distinguishable from <i>s</i>
g, k.	palatized stops, often suggesting palatized <i>d</i> and <i>t</i>

'	Post-vocalic breath
r	very weakly trilled tongue-tip <i>r</i> , related to <i>d</i>
x	German <i>ch</i> in <i>acht</i>
k, t, p	medial in sonancy
'	glottal catch

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

October, 1912.

HISTORY.

The Crow (*apsā'ruke*) form, together with the Hidatsa, a distinct sub-family of the Siouan linguistic stock. Indeed, the words common to this sub-family and other divisions of the Siouan group are very limited in number, though such characteristic morphological traits as the use of instrumental verbal prefixes are not lacking. Compared with each other, the Crow and Hidatsa languages reveal a very close relationship, but I should hesitate to pronounce them mutually intelligible. So far as my experience goes, members of either tribe freely follow conversation in the other language only if they have had previous occasion to meet members of the other tribe. At all events, the separation of the Crow from the Hidatsa must be regarded as relatively recent, but this conclusion, it must be noted, rests exclusively on linguistic considerations, for the culture of the two tribes has undergone considerable differentiation.

According to an Hidatsa informant, his people at one time had four villages on the Knife River with a fifth in the middle, and the inhabitants of this fifth, who were called *hē'reròke* ("among them" or "in their midst"), were the ancestors of the Crow. The separation legend common to both tribes relates that the Crow at one time lived with the Hidatsa on the Missouri River, but seceded and moved towards the mountains to the west on account of a quarrel over the distribution of food. The alleged reason for the secession occurs among the traditions of other tribes and cannot be uncritically accepted as historical. But the feeling on both sides of a close relationship is certainly very strong and corroborates the linguistic argument. It may also be noted that in spite of the legendary quarrel there is no tradition of any enmity between the Crow and the Hidatsa.

The Crow themselves recognize three local divisions of their tribe in former times: the *minē'sepè're* (Dung-on-the-river-banks?), also known as the Black-Lodges; the *a'c'arahō'* (Many-Lodges); and the *ērarap'ō* (Kicked-in-their-bellies).¹ The first of these groups corresponds to the River Crow of some writers, and it was less closely affiliated with the two other divisions — often jointly designated as "Mountain Crow" — than these were with each other. The River Crow roamed along the lower Yellowstone

¹ To-day this name is applied to the Crow Indians of Lodge Grass, though by no means all of them are descendants of the local group. The same designation was also applied to one of the Crow clans (see p. 190).

River down to the Missouri confluence. They met the Assiniboine, and were apparently also in more frequent contact with the Hidatsa than the Mountain Crow, so that certain societies, such as the Horse society and also one Crazy Dog organization,¹ are regarded as distinctive of the River Crow, who are said to have adopted them from the tribes mentioned. The Many-Lodges, according to all accounts, occupied approximately the territory including the present Crow reservation and adjoining regions, that is to say, southeastern Montana and part of Wyoming. The Fire-weasel couple define the territory of the Many-Lodges as bounded by the Tongue River on the east and the site of Livingston, Montana, on the west. Bull-chief states that in the spring they ranged from the site of Buffalo, Wyoming, to the Pryor district, Montana, while in the winter they moved towards the Basin. The *ê'rarapĩ'o*, according to this authority, joined the Many-Lodges in the spring, but in the winter they went to the country of the Wyoming Shoshone. Maximilian seems to speak of the whole Crow tribe pasturing their horses along the Wind River in winter,² but if the division into local bands antedates his journey,³ his informants presumably referred to the winter habitat of the Kicked-in-their-bellies band.

There is no evidence that any dialectic differentiation took place among the three local groups. They were never at war with one another, but on some occasions temporary misunderstandings seem to have led to the composition of songs by one group deriding the members of another. As the name implies, the Many-Lodges were numerically preponderant, and the Crow employ the same term to designate the East as the principal dwelling-place of the whites.

In answer to the direct question, whether a person belonged to his father's or his mother's local band, I received contradictory answers. In practice the problem probably never arose. The majority of marriages took place between members of the same band, and I am decidedly under the impression that affiliation with a band was simply a matter of residence.

According to Clark,⁴ the separation of the River Crow from the Mountain Crow is very recent, having been caused by the inroads of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The *Handbook of American Indians* (p. 368) even gives so late a date as 1859 for this occurrence. In response to an inquiry on the subject, Mr. Hodge, the editor of this work and Ethnologist-in-charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, kindly asked Mr. Mooney to examine the authority for this date and has sent me Mr. Mooney's report:

¹ There were three different organizations that were called by this name.

² I, p. 399.

³ See below.

⁴ P. 134.

"The statement regarding the separation of the Mountain and River Crow is from Agent Pease (Indian Affairs Report for 1871, p. 420, 1872), who says: 'They separated some twelve years since' [i. e. about 1859]. Hayden (p. 394), writing about 1860, gives them three bands, two of which roved in the Wind River mountains, the Bighorn mountains and on the upper Platte, while the third ranged, 'along the valley of the Yellowstone, from mouth to source.' The Mountain and River Crows are mentioned separately in the Indian Commissioner's Report for 1866 (p. 175). Clark (Indian Sign Language, 134, 1885) says the separation was due to the attacks of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, by whom a part of the Crow were forced north of the Missouri River 'and joining the Grosventres of the Prairie [Atsina], remained there for some years and became known as the River Crows.' The facts of Cheyenne and Arapaho history would seem to make this considerably earlier than 1859, if true at all, but as the Atsina are allies of the Blackfeet, the hereditary enemies of the Crow, I incline to doubt Clark's story."

Major Pease is thus made to figure as the authority for the statement in the *Handbook*. However, in the summer of 1912 I had occasion to meet this gentleman and bring the matter to his personal notice, and he assured me that he had been misinterpreted as he was convinced that the division into River and Mountain Crow went back at least several decades before the date cited. This view is corroborated by my Indian informants, the oldest of whom declare that the separation took place before their time. There is also documentary evidence. Thus, Leonard (1834) writes that the Crow "are divided into two divisions of an equal number in each — there being too great a number to travel together, as they could not get game in many places to supply such a force. Each division is headed by a separate chief."¹ Unfortunately, Leonard does not localize his two divisions, but according to Mr. Curtis, Mountain Crow and River Crow figured as separate bands in a treaty with the Government in 1825.² The same writer, on the basis of traditional evidence, seems to incline to the view that the dual³ division of the Crow may date back even to the period of their separation from the Hidatsa, though the tendency towards definite segregation set in only in the early part of the nineteenth century.⁴

The present grouping of the tribe on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana does not correspond to the older local divisions. There are five, or six,⁵ districts, viz., Black Lodge, Reno, Lodge Grass, Bighorn, and Pryor. Of these Pryor, owing to its geographical position and the difficulty of crossing the Bighorn River during certain parts of the year, is

¹ L. c., p. 255.

² IV, p. 41.

³ The third division mentioned above is regarded by Mr. Curtis as having been merely in an incipient stage.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 42-43, 47.

⁵ The Bighorn District is divided into an Upper and a Lower District.

separated from the rest by a sharper line of demarcation than divides any of the others. Indeed, I have met young people at Lodge Grass who had never been to the Pryor country. In certain details of the Tobacco ceremony the present local differentiation of the Crow has effected a slight cultural differentiation.

In 1833 the number of Crow warriors was set at 1200, while the entire population had been estimated at from 3250 to 3560. At present there are approximately 1750 Crow on the Reservation.

The principal enemies of the Crow were the Western Dakota and the Piegan, though practically all the other tribes of the surrounding country were at one time or other at war with them. To the Government they have given relatively very little trouble except for the uprising of Wraps-up-his-tail, "the prophet," (1890) which has been described by Mooney.¹

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

THE CLAN.

The clan (àc'ambarfexìe)² forms the unit of social organization among the Crow, descent being in the female line. The result of Morgan's personal investigation of the tribe³ thus stands confirmed, and Swanton's skepticism,⁴ however justified as a general principle in the discussion of Indian social organization, is misapplied in the present case. It may be well to note at the beginning that the Crow clans did not correspond to divisions of the camp circle. Indeed, the camp circle was not regularly employed by this tribe; and when a circle *was* formed, the clans did not occupy any definite place in it.

Each clan had a headman, who became such as a result of his war record. Sometimes the headmen induced the men of their clan to separate from the main body of the Crow for the purpose of hunting buffalo. This temporary separation was called *acdū'sa+u*. Onion was at one time the headman of the *acpénuce*; at present Gray-bull claims the honor for himself. Sees-bull's-mentula was the name of the *birik-ō'oce* headman. Plenty-coups was headman of the *aci'oce*, Pretty-eagle of the *ack-d'mne*.

¹ Pp. 491-492.

² Literally, "lodge where there is driftwood." The meaning seems to be that clansfolk belong together like drifting pieces of wood that have all become lodged in one place.

³ L. c., p. 159.

⁴ L. c., pp. 663-673.

Fellow-clansmen often feasted together and even to-day help one another out at initiations into the Tobacco society by contributing to the expense fund. The same attitude is reflected in a story told by Spotted-rabbit. A man named Spotted-fish lost his favorite horse, which was stolen by the Piegan, but recovered by four Crow who went on the warpath. Spotted-fish offered them four horses and some other property for his favorite, but they insisted on getting an elk-tooth dress in addition, which Spotted-fish refused to pay. However, his fellow-clansmen got together a large amount of property and bought the horse back for Spotted-fish. A fellow-clansman's wife was considered a sister-in-law in exactly the same way as an own brother's wife (see p. 212); according to Old-dog and others, joking with her, even of an obscene character, was freely indulged in, and sometimes elopements occurred. To-day, a husband who might otherwise become jealous if his wife danced with another man does not feel any resentment if her partner belongs to his own clan. When one of the local divisions of the Crow visited another, an *aci'oce* woman would bring meat to the wife of a fellow-clansman in the visiting group. If the wife was alone, she returned moccasins and other articles such as women make. If the *aci'oce* man himself was in the lodge, he would send back horses and other valuable gifts for his clanswoman's husband. This usage corresponds to that in vogue when a married sister brought some food to her own brother. The work connected with an individual's burial seems to have been performed, in part at least, by his fellow-clansmen (Gros-Ventre-horse).

If a Crow killed another, the murderer's clan sometimes paid an indemnity to the slain man's clan; otherwise there was likely to be a fight between the clans. In the days of Lone-tree's youth, a young man was once riding about camp in his best clothing, when another man, fearing that he meant to steal his wife, shot and killed him. Crow-face, a mother's brother of the dead man, fought the murderer's clan and was shot through the arm. Some time after this occurrence Crow-face had a supernatural communication from a bear. One day after this revelation he went out hunting with an associate who belonged to neither of the warring clans. They killed a buffalo and butchered it in sight of members of the other clan. Suddenly Crow-face looked at them and began to sing a bear song. His companion mounted on horseback, but Crow-face bade him wait for a second song. Then he stretched out his arm, told the people he would pursue them, and began to give chase together with his friend. The latter caught up with the last of the fugitives, who reminded him that he (the pursuer) was not a member of either clan concerned. Crow-face's friend replied, "I know that, but I want to get even with you"; saying which, he shot an arrow into the other man and killed him. He asked Crow-face

whether he wished to have the scalp, and Crow-face said he did not. Both returned to camp, and this apparently was the end of the affair.

After Wraps-up-his-tail had been killed by Fire-bear, then a member of the Government's Indian police, Wraps-up-his-tail's fellow-clansmen, and especially his own brother, for a long time sought to kill the slayer. Some say that it was merely for Fire-bear's protection that the Government continued to keep him in its employ.

Once a party of Crow set out with the fastest horse in the tribe. It was captured by the Sioux, but a few days later the party went out again, and one Crow recovered it. The Sioux made an attack on the party, and the recoverer of the horse was fleeing with Birds-all-over-the-ground. The former got off to take a drink, when his companion, who had been coveting the horse, killed him. The Sioux heard the report and came up to make a charge, but Birds-all-over-the-ground rode the fast horse and made his escape. For a long time the other Crow Indians did not know how he had got the horse and gave him great credit for bringing it back to the tribe. Much later they found out the actual circumstances of the murder from a Sioux visitor. The victim's old father began to cry when he heard the news, and the murdered man's clansmen (*birik-ō'oce*) prepared to avenge his death. Birds-all-over-the-ground belonged to the *aci'oce* clan, and the clansmen loaded up horses with presents and brought a pipe to the father, begging him to desist from further steps toward punishment of the offender. The chief of the *aci'oce* took a pipe to the chief of the *birik-ō'oce*, who took it after some deliberation and said that inasmuch as a peace pipe was offered and as the affair had taken place long ago, he would allow the matter to drop. Then the father took the presents and distributed them among his clansmen. To-day the murderer's deed is forgiven.

So far as I am able to learn, Morgan's opinion that property was inherited in the maternal line stands corroborated. At the time of my first visit to the Crow the Government officials were attempting to adjust the difference between the Federal and the native conceptions of inheritance, for, according to the old Crow view, land, like other property, should revert to a deceased person's brothers and sisters, that is to say, to his own clan. Bear-gets-up said that, before dying, a man might call out that he wished to give one or two horses to his wife or son, and that such a wish was respected; however, the majority of the horses fell to the brothers' share. The same rule applied to the inheritance of clothing. Medicines, however, were often bequeathed to the oldest son before death.

One of the most conspicuous functions of the clan was the regulation of marriage. It was not considered proper that members of the same clan should marry. When a man did marry within his own clan, people said

that he had married his sister and poked fun at him. His joking-relatives (see p. 204) would say that he had no brother-in-law, but that his own rump was his brother-in-law: "Turn around and speak to your brother-in-law." His own clansman may tease him by calling him "brother-in-law," and they may also deride the woman by calling her *bûaka*, "my sister-in-law." If a man married within his clan (or took liberties with other women tabooed to him), people might also say of him, "*aráxuic k-awik*," "The part of his body above his genitalia is bad." Gray-bull told me that his own son, who was present during our interview, had married a member of his clan, and that he deserved to be laughed at. The same informant enumerated six cases within his memory in which the rule had been transgressed,—three offences by *û'wut'ace*, one by *acitsi'te* and two by *birik-õ'oce*. One woman had transgressed twice, re-marrying into her clan after her first husband's death. In a case of intra-clan marriage, Gray-bull remarked, the children would belong at the same time to both their father's and their mother's clan, a reflection which greatly amused him. Another informant said that Curly's father, an *ack-âpkawiê*, had married within his clan, and that Bobtail-wolf and his wife had both been members of the *aczatsê*.

At the present day the older rules are no longer so strictly obeyed as in former times, but nevertheless the total number of marriages within the clan is relatively small. I do not know of more than half a dozen cases of this sort, and most of them are among very young people, so that it seems proper to disregard them, as has been done in the comparative estimate of intra-clan and intra-"phratric" marriages (p. 196).

THE CLAN SYSTEM.

Owing to numerous contradictions in the statements of different informants, it would be very confusing to the reader to be confronted at the outset with the steps by which I gradually arrived at my present conception of the Crow clan system. I will, therefore, begin by stating dogmatically what seems to me the most acceptable view of the subject, and will then qualify by presenting and discussing the contradictory evidence.

The three local divisions did not differ with regard to their clan constituents, all clans being apparently represented in each band, though a majority of the *êrarapî'o* clan seem to have been in the local division of the same name.

The clans were grouped together, mostly in pairs, in six larger nameless social units. The following list, furnished by Old-dog (Lodge Grass) and corroborated in most or all essentials by Sharp-horn (Pryor), Shot-in-the-

arm (Bighorn), and others, gives the native and English names of the clans and their mode of grouping. For convenience of reference, the groups are numbered quite arbitrarily, the order of the clans within each group being likewise immaterial.

Clans of the Crow Indians.

I	{ acirārī'o	Newly-made Lodge
	{ acitsīte	Big (Thick) Lodge
II	{ aci'oce	Sore-lip Lodge
	{ ū'wut'acè	Greasy inside of the mouth
III	{ ū'sawatsìE	Without hitting they fetch game
	{ xúxkaraxtsè	Tied in a knot
	{ acpénuce (acpéndice)	Filth-eating Lodge
IV	{ ěrarapī'o	Kicked in their Bellies
	{ ack-áp kawìE	Bad War Honors
V	{ birik-ō'oce	Whistling Water
	{ àcxatsé	Spotted (Streaked) Lodge
VI	{ ack-ámne	Piegan Lodge
	{ àcbatcúe	Awl Lodge

One of the greatest difficulties in the study of the Crow clan system was due to the occasional statements of some informants that the grouped names were not designations of different clans, but only distinct names for the same clans. Several Indians further complicated matters by introducing names of clans not mentioned and in some instances not even recognized by their fellow-tribesmen. Whether these names were used interchangeably with certain others, or were once in vogue but had been superseded by those of the standard set, or whether they represented clans that had passed out of existence a long time ago, was at times a rather difficult problem. The statements secured may be most clearly presented in connection with the preceding scheme.

To the clan names of group I several informants add *cípte'tse* or *cí'te'tse*, the approximate translation of which is "rebounding shot" or "sound of a rebounding arrow." This obviously is the equivalent of Morgan's Ship-tet-zā, which he renders "Bear's Paw Mountain."¹ Morgan also lists the Ah-shin-na-de-ah, or "Lost Lodges," meaning in all probability the *acirārī'o*, but does not give any name closely corresponding to its mate in my list. According to Crane-bear, *cípte'tse* was merely a nickname given to the

¹ L. c., p. 159.

acitsi'te, his own clan, which view is in some measure confirmed by the fact that it does not occur in my list of clan affiliations. It is possible that the same explanation applies to still another name, for which I have the authority of only the Fire-weasel couple (Pryor): *is̄isirā'ce*, "Brothers-in-law-to-their-rumps."¹

Practically all the Indians — for example, Crane-bear and Arm-round-the-neck — are positive that *acits̄ite* and *acirār̄i'o* are names of distinct clans. Crane-bear said he should never think of saying he was an *acirār̄i'o*; in fact, he had wives belonging to this clan.

To the names for group II the Fire-weasel couple, Crane-bear, On-both-sides, and Arm-round-the-neck add *is̄ā'tskaw̄ie*, "Bad Leggings," which also figures in Morgan's list. Crane-bear and Arm-round-the-neck independently identify the *is̄ā'tskaw̄ie* with the *ū'wut'ace*, and it is worth noting that the latter are not mentioned by Morgan. The Fire-weasels also gave as a clan name *biric̄i'cie*, "They-drink-muddy-water," but Arm-round-the-neck regards this as merely a second designation for the *ac̄i'oce*. An informant from the Black Lodge District stands alone in including *ic̄i'psiate*, "Small Pipes," in his enumeration of clans of this group. Neither of the two supplementary names occurs in my marriage record.

Cuts-the-picketed-mule stands alone in alleging that the *ū'wut'ace* and *ac̄i'oce* were identical. Old-dog declared he should always give the *ac̄i'oce*, never the *ū'wut'ace*, as his clan. The fact that several marriages between members of these linked clans were noted, seems to clinch the argument.

Several additional names appear for group III. The Fire-weasel couple give *ēris̄ā'watse*, "Big Bellies," as the name of a separate clan, but according to Bear-gets-up it was merely the original name of the *ū'sawats̄ie*. *is̄āc̄-e xaw̄i'k.*, "Bad Horses," is given by On-both-sides, by a Black Lodge informant, and Arm-round-the-neck, but the last of these identifies the "Bad Horses" with the *x̄uxkarax̄ts̄è*. Several Indians and Mr. Curtis¹ list the *ī'cir̄è'te*, "Not Mixed," but Arm-round-the-neck says the name refers to the *ū'sawats̄ie* and Mr. Curtis remarks that the *ū'sawats̄ie* and *ī'cir̄è'te* cannot be distinguished from each other at the present day. That these names are indeed interchangeable is proved by the fact that Lone-tree and Big-ox classed themselves as *ū'sawats̄ie* when I tried to determine their affiliations, while Mr. Curtis designates them as *ī'cir̄è'te*.

The alliance between the *x̄uxkarax̄ts̄è* and *ū'sawats̄ie* is generally regarded as of older standing than that between them and the *ac̄p̄enuce*. There can be little doubt that all three were distinct. Gray-bull says he should call himself nothing but an *ac̄p̄enuce*, and Big-ox, an *ū'sawats̄ie* has been married to both a *x̄uxkarax̄ts̄è* and an *ac̄p̄enuce* woman.

¹ The meaning of this sobriquet is explained on p. 189.

Very few informants add to the names of group IV. Arm-round-the-neck gave *biripā'xuE*, "They scrape water," as another name for the *ack-āpkawīE*, while the Fire-weasels mention a *huri'wice* (Hair-on-their-legs) clan not referred to by any other Crow.

I do not find any statement to the effect that the two names of group IV refer to the same clan. The record of one marriage between members of these linked clans seems to indicate that they were distinct.

Together with the names of group V of the standard list many natives mention the *tsi'pawā'itse*, "Pretty Prairie Dogs." Shot-in-the-hand and Crane-bear say that this is another name for the *birik-ō'oce*, and Arm-round-the-neck and Old-woman identify both with the *àcxatsé*. Evidence to the contrary is furnished by Crane-bear's wife, who calls herself *àcxatsé*, but says she was at one time married to a *tsi'pawā'itse* and that this did not arouse any comment. Old-woman's view is very puzzling when taken in connection with another statement made by her, that Smart-horse and Mane, both *àcxatsé*, married *birik-ō'oce* women, and that Gros-Ventre, an *àcxatsé* married a *tsi'pawā'itse*. If the three names were all applied interchangeably to the same clan, why this differentiation of names in telling of what, from her point of view, was merely an instance of marrying within one and the same clan? According to Mr. Curtis, the *àcxatsé* and *birik-ō'oce* cannot be distinguished at the present day. The theoretical significance of the point here dealt with will appear presently (see p. 194).

Two additional names were given by the Fire-weasel couple: *ū'ux-akdū'ce*, "Deer-eaters" (which is almost certainly identical with Morgan's O-hot-du-sha, "Antelope"), and *acbatsi'rice*, "They-do-not-look (as though blind) Lodge." However, it is doubtful to which group these names really belong. One statement identifies the *ū'ux-akdū'ce* with the *ack-āp kawīè*, though Morgan lists them as separate clans. As for the *acbatsi'rice*, Crane-bear recognizes the name as referring to a distinct clan, but links it with the *āca'barè'te* and the *àcbatcūE*.

Group VI presents the same problem as the preceding group inasmuch as there is doubt whether the two names of the standard list do not refer to but one clan. This is also the view expressed for recent times, at least, by Mr. Curtis, while Morgan cites the Ash-bot-chee-ah, "Treacherous Lodges" and the "Ash-kane-na," "Blackfoot Lodges," as separate clans.

āca'barè'te, "Lodge without ears," is a name linked with group VI by Crane-bear and my Black Lodge District informant. According to another authority, the name referred to the *ack-āmne* clan. *acbā'ta'te*, "Merciless Lodge," is given by On-both-sides and the Fire-weasels as the designation of a distinct clan, while Arm-round-the-neck is of opinion that both it and the two names of the standard list refer to but a single clan. *i'piskuruce*,

"They-eat-nasal-mucus," was cited as a separate clan by the Fire-weasel couple, but an origin tale (p. 200) indicates that it may have been merely the old name for the *ack-ámne*.

Crane-bear stands absolutely alone in holding that the *ack-ámne* not only formed a separate clan, but were not linked with any other, thus making a seventh group. However, one or two other informants, by individual arrangements of certain clans, likewise increased the number of clan-groups to seven.

To sum up, it appears that most of the supplementary names may have been nothing but older designations or nicknames of clans given in my standard list. Of course, it is possible that some of them represent clans that have passed out of existence, but to what extent this may hold cannot be satisfactorily ascertained to-day. There is, at all events, every reason to suppose that my list of thirteen clan names is very nearly complete for the second half of the nineteenth century, for in my marriage records, which were obtained primarily for another purpose, there occur only two additional names, *ĩ'cirẽ'te* and *tsi'pawā'itse*. Another problem is, whether even the limited number of names grouped on page 190 all correspond to distinct clans, or whether the number of real clans coincides, as a few Crow contended, with that of my clan-groups. Groups V and VI, which remain problematical and will be again discussed below, may be disregarded for the present. Taking the other names in my list, there can be little doubt that they are all the designations of distinct clans. This is based not merely on the general statements of a decisive majority of my informants, but also on the negative attitude they took almost invariably when the idea was suggested to them that perhaps it was immaterial which of the linked clan names they gave as their own.

The question now naturally presents itself, what may have been the functions of the clan-associations? Were these larger groups exogamous like the clans? That is to say, was marriage prohibited not only with a member of the same clan, but also with a member of the linked clan? Mr. Curtis is obviously of the opinion that the prohibition extended to the larger units, which he accordingly calls "phratries." He tells us that "the former ban against taking a wife from the sister-clan is not now strictly regarded" (p. 25); and that "formerly marriage between members of the same clan was prohibited, and marriage within the phratry was rare" (p. 178). These two statements, however, are not identical in meaning. The first statement suggests that at one time there was a strict rule against marriage within the "phratry." Had this been the case, clan exogamy might follow as a necessary consequence of phratric exogamy, and a special investigation would be required to determine whether the exogamous rule

applied originally to the lesser or the larger social unit. If, on the other hand, the second statement is accepted, we might regard the tendency to eschew marriage with a member of a sister-clan as merely an extension of what must then be viewed as fundamentally a characteristic of the *clan*.

Assuming provisionally, the latter alternative, we should be prepared to find different rules for the several clan-associations inasmuch as it is quite conceivable that a prohibition originally confined to one clan may in some cases be extended to the linked clan, while in other associations no such extension takes place. The evidence collected on this point is as follows.

For group I, we find that Crane-bear, an *acitsi'te* has twice married members of the linked clan, though he did say that such intermarriage did not "look well." Sparrow-hawk, an *acitsi'te*, has an *acirāri'o* wife, and Bull's-neck, an *acirāri'o*, has married into the linked clan. Arm-round-the-neck, an *acirāri'o* had at one time an *acitsi'te* wife. Shows-a-fish, an *acitsi'te*, sees no objection to such marriages.

In group II, Old-dog and Gros-Ventre-horse regarded marriages between the linked clans quite proper. Gros-Ventre-horse, himself an *ū'wut'acè* by birth, married two *acī'oce* women. The value of this testimony is, however, diminished by the fact that my informant belonged by adoption to another clan, which may have caused a difference in his attitude. On the other hand, the evidence given by Bull-weasel's mother, an old and conservative woman, is unexceptionable. She is an *acī'oce* and was married to an *ū'wut'acè*. White-blanket and White-woman, *ū'wut'acè*, have *acī'oce* wives; Yellow-brow, *acī'oce*, is married to an *ū'wut'acè* woman.

According to Bear-gets-up, a member of any clan in the trio of group III might marry into either of the two linked clans. As a matter of fact, the marriage record shows that Big-ox, an *ūsawatsi'E* had both a *xūxkaraxtsè* and an *acpénuce* wife; that White-arm, *acpénuce*, has an *ī'cirè'te* wife, and Bird-far-away, of the last-named clan, has an *acpénuce* wife.

In group IV, Blackbird-running, of the *ērarapī'o*, had an *ack-ápikawè* wife.

For group V, the preponderance of evidence points in the opposite direction, but the anomalous character of this and the following group has already been noted. Though Crane-bear's wife, an *àcxatsé*, was married to a *tsi'pawāi'itse* and declares that no comment was aroused by such a marriage, this is strongly denied by others. Bull-all-the-time declared that for an *àcxatsé* to marry a *birik-ō'oce* was as bad as to marry within his own clan. Old-woman went so far as to regard the two clans as one, for when asked for intra-clan marriages known to her, she listed those of three *àcxatsé* married to members of the linked clan.

Both One horn and Hunts-to-die say that members of group VI are not

supposed to intermarry, and Hunts-to-die added that transgressors were subject to the same ridicule as offenders against the *clan* exogamy rule.

There is thus, apparently a striking difference between the attitude of members of groups V and VI as compared with that of members of the other groups. The difficulty at once disappears, of course, if we assume with Old-woman and Arm-round-the-neck that the names in group V do not refer to distinct clans, but are merely different names for the same clan; and accept a corresponding interpretation for the names of group VI on the basis of both Arm-round-the-neck's statements and the account of how the names originated (p. 200). As a matter of fact, it is rather remarkable how rarely the names of the *àbatacùe*, *tsi'pawāi'itse*, and *àcxatsé* occur in the marriage records as compared with nearly all the other clan names, and it would be natural to assume as one of several possible explanations that they are merely little-used nicknames synonymous respectively with names of groups V and VI of the approved list. However, there is too much uncertainty to permit a definite conclusion, and an hypothesis is required for the case that the names actually apply to distinct clans.

A fairly plausible assumption is suggested by the accounts of various informants as to the mutual relations of the linked clans generally. The origin of these relations is indeed obscure. There are fragmentary statements that some of the older clans increased in numbers and were separated into smaller divisions, and that others (such as the *acpénuce* and *xúrkaxatsè*) were reduced to such an extent that their members joined forces to form a larger whole. But as to the nature of the relationship itself there is fair agreement. Old-dog said that the *ū'wut'acè* and *acī'oce* had been on terms of great intimacy ever since he could remember, the members of one clan inviting those of the linked clan to join in their feasts and camping with them on the buffalo hunt. According to Arm-round-the-neck, linked clans helped each other in various ways, and there are several statements that when a young man had performed a creditable deed his praises were sung not only by his father's clansmen, but also by the members of the clan linked with his father's. Thus, Gros-Ventre-horse, son of an *ū'wut'acè*, was praised by the *acī'oce* also; and he said that, if Yellow-tail performed some noteworthy deed, both *acitsite* and *acirāri'o* would join in the praise songs. This may, however, be a recent development, for I was told that each of the linked clans of group IV originally sang praise songs only for the sons of members of that clan and that they did not unite for praise-singing until recent times. In a later section it will be pointed out that the peculiar joking relationship probably obtained between all the children of members of linked clans (see p. 205). In the anomalous case of marriage within the clan, the father's clansmen are, of course, also fellow-clansmen of the children

which would naturally affect the children's attitude toward them (see p. 201). In such a case, Arm-round-the-neck explained, members of the linked clan received the consideration ordinarily given to father's clansmen and were regarded as *ása'kùe* (see p. 208).

It is conceivable that, just as in the instances last cited there seems to have been an extension of what were primarily clan functions, so the clan trait of exogamy may have been extended in some instances to the larger clan-associations. That is to say, we may assume that in some cases the coupled clans had become affiliated to such an extent as to become *one* for marriage-regulating purposes, while in other cases that stage of intimacy was never reached and, for all we know, might never have been reached even had Crow institutions remained undisturbed.

The fact that groups V and VI seem to be characterized by "phratric" exogamy thus admits of explanation. On the other hand, according to my records intra-"phratric" marriages were almost twice as numerous as marriages within the clan. Still more conclusive is the general difference in attitude towards marriage within the clan and marriage with a member of the linked clan of groups I-IV. There was not a single informant that did not regard marriage with a fellow-clansman as improper, while marriages between members of linked clans of the first four groups were, generally speaking, declared unobjectionable and in no case viewed in the same light as a transgression of clan exogamy. My conclusion, therefore, is that among the Crow we are not dealing with phratries but with loose associations of clans, some of which may have become more closely allied than others.

LIST OF CLAN AFFILIATIONS.

For the purpose of getting objective data on the intermarriages of the clans, I secured the clan affiliations of informants, together with those of their mates. Owing to the former polygamous practices of the Crow, a rather large body of material might thus have been collected, if I had begun to gather the information at a sufficiently early stage of my work. Unfortunately, the importance of such an inquiry only occurred to me towards the end, and in many cases I was obliged to rely on second-hand statements as to the clan affiliations. The data thus obtained are, indeed, trustworthy so far as they go, for the clan affiliations of fellow-tribesmen are very well known among the older men and women, but of course I could not in this way obtain information on previous marriages or as to the clans of the fathers of the individuals in question. With a limited number of recorded marriages and the large number of combinations possible in a community of

thirteen clans, it is, of course, impossible to draw any valuable statistical conclusions. Accordingly, the non-occurrence of certain combinations must not be regarded as significant. Nevertheless, the record has been of some service in checking information otherwise obtained.

Two informants, Gros-Ventre-horse and On-both-sides, were adopted into a clan other than their own, and it is not easy, accordingly, to classify their matrimonial relationships with those of others. Gros-Ventre-horse was born an *ū'wut'acè*, but adopted into the *ërarapī'o*, his father's clan. His wives have been *acirārī'o*, *birik·ō'oce*, *acpénuce*, and two of them *acī'oce*. On-both-sides, the oldest living Crow, was also born into the *ū'wut'acè*, but was adopted into the *xúxkaraxtsè*. Her son, Coyote-looks-up, is reckoned as a *xúxkaraxtsè*, but apparently because he was also adopted by the same woman who adopted his mother. On-both-sides' husbands were *àcxatsè acirārī'o*, and *àcbatcūe*.

Bull's-neck, High-ground-cedar and Arm-round-the-neck of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *acitsi'te* wives. Crane-bear and Sparrow-hawk of the *acitsi'te* have married *acirārī'o* women, the former having done so twice.

Plain-warrior, Bull-tail, No-necklace, and Arm-round-the-neck of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *acī'oce* wives. Píe rū'pec, I'tsi'tsiè-isā'kac, Sour-face, and Old-dog,—all *acī'oce*—have had *acirārī'o* wives, the last-mentioned Crow having twice married into that clan.

Arm-round-the-neck and Horn of the *acirārī'o* clan have had *ū'wut'acè* wives. Old-horn and Rides-a-white-horse of the *ū'wut'acè* have had *acirārī'o* wives.

Arm-round-the-neck, Left-hand, and Bull-chief's father, all *acirārī'o*, have had *ū'sawatsi'e* wives. Big-ox and Bell-rock of the *ū'sawatsi'e* have been married to *acirārī'o* women.

Grandmother's-knife, *acirārī'o*, has had a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife. Horse, Good-luck, and Arm-round-the-neck's father, all *xúxkaraxtsè*, had *acirārī'o* wives.

Fights-alone and Arm-round-the-neck, *acirārī'o*, have *ërarapī'o* wives. Child-in-the-mouth, *ërarapī'o*, has an *acirārī'o* wife.

Plain-bull, Bird-hat, High-land-bird, Pushing, and Bird-high, of the *acirārī'o*, have *ack·ápkawie* wives. Old-crane and Medicine-crow's father, *ack·ápkawie*, married *acirārī'o* women.

Arm-round-the-neck, *acirārī'o*, married a *tsi'pawā'itse*. Sharp-horn, Turns-back-plenty, Leader, Pretty-coyote, Bird-above's father, and Bull-all-the-time—all *birik·ō'oce*—had *acirārī'o* wives, the last-mentioned informant having married two women of that clan.

Bird-above and Medicine-crow, *acirārī'o*, have *ack·ámne* wives. Packs-hat, Whinnies, and (old) Spotted-horse have *acirārī'o* wives.

Bear-ghost, Not-afraid, and White-man-runs-him, *acitsîte*, have *aci'oce* wives. Old-dog, Crane-bear's father, Long-bangs, Crazy-man, and Plenty-coups, *aci'oce*, had *acitsîte* wives, Old-dog having married three women of this clan.

Yellow-mule, *ũ'wut'acè*, is married to an *acitsîte*.

Crane-bear, *acitsîte*, had an *ũ'sawatsiè* wife. Big-ox, *ũ'sawatsiè*, had an *acitsîte* wife. Flat-head-woman and Young-jack-rabbit, *acitsîte* had *ĩ'cirète* wives; and Chief Wolf-lies-down and Blood, *ĩ'cirète*, had *acitsîte* wives.

One-blue-bead, *acitsîte*, has a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife. Dirtied-face, Covers-up and One-blue-bead's father, *xúxkaraxtsè*, have *acitsîte* wives.

Pretty-on-the-top, *acitsîte*, married an *acpénuce*; Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, an *acitsîte*.

Alligator, *ërarapĩ'o*, has an *acitsîte* wife.

Steals-moccasins and Beard, *acitsîte*, had *ack-ápkawiè* wives. Land-on-the-other-side, *ack-ápkawiè*, had an *acitsîte* wife.

Crane-bear, Ear-cutter, Yellow-tail, One-star, *acitsîte*, have *birik-õ'oce* wives. Crane-bear's present wife is *àcxatsé*. Bull-all-the-time, Big-snake, and Old-white-man, *birik-õ'oce*, have *acitsîte* wives.

Bad-horse, *acitsîte*, has an *ack-ámne* wife. Bear-gets-up and Black-hawk, *ack-ámne*, are married to *acitsîte* women.

Yellow-brow, *aci'oce*, has an *ũ'wut'acè*, wife, and Bull-weasel's mother, *aci'oce*, had an *ũ'wut'acè* husband. White-blanket and White-woman, *ũ'wut'acè*, have *aci'oce* wives.

Hunts-darts and Not-mixed, *aci'oce*, had *ĩ'cirète* wives; Old-dog and Anácecĩ'ruc, *aci'oce*, had *ũ'sawatsiè* wives, the former having two. Big-ox and Crazy-crane, *ũ'sawatsiè*, were married to *aci'oce* women.

Old-dog, *aci'oce*, was married to two *xúxkaraxtsè*. Sacred-fetlocks and Yellow-face, *xúxkaraxtsè*, had *aci'oce* wives.

Old-dog, *aci'oce*, was married to an *acpénuce*.

He-says, *aci'oce*, has an *ërarapĩ'o* wife.

Hunts-to-die, Dog-bear, and Short-boy, *aci'oce*, have *ack-ápkawiè* wives. Tail-tip, *ack-ápkawiè* is married to an *aci'oce*, and so is Magpie, *ack-ápkawiè*.

Bad-man, *aci'oce*, is married to a *tsi'pawái'itse*. Old-dog, *aci'oce*, had a wife of the *birik-õ'oce* clan. Bull-all-the-time, *birik-õ'oce*, had an *aci'oce* wife.

Three-bears, Standing-on-a-bull, and Yellow-crane, *aci'oce*, have *ack-ámne* wives. Old-dog's father, Hunts-to-die's father, and Talking-pipe, *ack-ámne*, were married to *aci'oce*.

Shot-in-the-arm, *ũ'wut'acè*, has an *ũ'sawatsiè* wife. Lone-tree and Big-ox, *ũ'sawatsiè*, had *ũ'wut'ace* wives.

Ralph Saco, *ũ'wut'acè*, is married to a *xúxkaraxtsè*. Both his father and his maternal grandfather were *xúxkaraxtsè*, who married *ũ'wut'acè* women. Bear-does-not-walk, *xúxkaraxtsè*, also has an *ũ'wut'acè* wife.

Shot-in-the-arm, *ũ'wut'acè*, has an *acpénuce* wife. Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *ũ'wut'acè* wife.

It-fits, *ũ'wut'acè*, has an *ack-ápkawie* wife.

Shot-in-the-hand's father and Shot-in-the-arm, both *ũ'wut'acè*, married *birik-õ'oce* women. Bull-all-the-time and White-bull, *birik-õ'oce*, had *ũ'wut'acè* wives.

Shot-in-the-arm's father, *àcbatcúe*, was married to an *ũ'wut'acè*.

Big-ox, *ũ'sawatsìe*, had a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife.

Big-ox, *ũ'sawatsìe*, had an *acpénuce* wife. Bird-far-away, *ĩ'cirè'te*, has an *acpénuce* wife, and White-arm, *acpénuce* is married to an *ĩ'cirè'te*.

Thunder-iron and Shows-his-teeth, *ũ'sawatsìe*, are married to *ack-ápkawie* women. Prairie-Gros-Ventre, *ack-ápkawie*, has an *ĩ'cirè'te* wife.

Big-ox, *ũ'sawatsìe*, was married to a *tsi'pawai'tse*. Sharp-horn's father, *ũ'sawatsìe*, had a *birik-õ'oce* wife; Bull-all-the-time, *birik-õ'oce*, an *ũ'sawatsìe* wife.

Old-woman's father, *ũ'sawatsìe*, married an *àcxatsé*. Old-woman, *àcxatsé*, had an *ũ'sawatsìe* husband.

Bull-chief, Old-coyote, and Bear-gets-up's father, *ũ'sawatsìe*, had each an *ack-ámne* wife, as did Knows-his-coups, *ĩ'cirè'te*.

Good-tail, Big-hail, and Bird-tail-rattles, *xúxkaraxtsè*, had *birik-õ'oce* wives. Red-eyes and Knows-his-gun, *birik-õ'oce*, have each a *xúxkaraxtsè* wife, and Bull-all-the-time had two wives of that clan. Old-woman, *àcxatsé*, was married to a *xúxkaraxtsè* man.

Spotted-rabbit and White-hat, *xúxkaraxtsè*, married *ack-ámne* women. Põ'tec, Flat-dog, and Ūu'cièc, *ack-ámne* had *xúxkaraxtsè* wives.

Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *erapĩ'o* wife.

Gray-bull, *acpénuce*, had an *ack-ápkawie* wife.

Gray-bull's mother was *acpénuce*, his father *birik-õ'oce*.

Blackbird-running, *erapĩ'o*, has an *ack-ápkawie* wife.

Plenty-tracks, *erapĩ'o*, has a *birik-õ'oce* wife; Rides-the-best-horse, *birik-õ'oce*, an *erapĩ'o* wife.

Small, *ack-ápkawie*, married a *birik-õ'oce*, Corner-of-the-mouth, *tsi'pawai'tse*, has an *ack-ápkawie* wife.

Bright-wing, *ack-ápkawie*, has an *ack-ámne* wife.

Shot-in-the-hand, Bear-claw, and Bread, *birik-õ'oce* have *ack-ámne* wives. Crane-bear's wife, *àcxatsé*, was formerly married to a *tsi'pawai'tse*.

Bull-all-the-time, *birik-õ'oce*, had an *àcbatcúe* wife.

ORIGIN TRADITIONS.

Strictly speaking, there are no traditions accounting for the origin of clans, but merely fragmentary statements, for the most part giving a naïvely rationalistic reason for the adoption of certain clan names.

Shot-in-the-arm's wife said: "In the beginning there were certain families, all of one clan. Later, but very long ago, a chief divided the people into different clans, and from that time on the division remained."

The *i'pi'skurucè* received the name *ack-ámne* because on one occasion several clansmen went on the warpath and abandoned one of their party who had been shot. The other Indians said, "The members of this clan are like the Piegan," whence the name. A more frequent and plausible explanation is that the incident mentioned gave rise to the name *áčbatcúe* for the Piegan clan, the awl being apparently the symbol of perfidy and meanness.¹ According to this version, the name *ack-ámne* was due to the fact that a member of the clan named One-eye killed another Crow, thus acting like a Piegan enemy. The name "No-ear lodge" is connected with the Piegan clan, one member having cut off his wife's ear as a punishment for adultery.

Fire-weasel said that the *áčbatsi'rise* were so named because they married within the clan, "not opening their eyes" to see whom they were marrying.

isá'tskawíe is given as the old name of the *ú'wut'acè*. Once this clan left the main body of the Crow for several weeks in search of food. They killed fat buffalo, and when they had eaten of the meat, their expectoration burnt like tallow in the fire, whence their name.

According to Bull-chief, the *ú'sawatsìe* clan was called "Not-mixed" because most of the members were war captains; that is to say, it was a clan in which captains were "not mixed" with other people.

Gray-bull declared that one of his ancestors must have eaten dung, since his clan was called *acpénuce*; that the ancestor of the *birik-ò'oce* whistled while swimming about in the water; that the *acitsi'te* had bigger lodge poles than other clans; and so forth.

According to Crane-bear, a woman in a certain clan was clumsy and put up a tipi that looked spotted and not properly scraped on the outside, wherefore her people were called *áčxatsé*.

Bull-chief says that the Pretty Prairie Dogs adopted into the Medicine-Pipe organization a Sioux named "Whistling Water," and thereafter the other people called them by the same name. *acpénuce* was a name con-

¹ Morgan translates "Treacherous Lodges," Curtis "Backbiter Lodge."

ferred on a clan because the wife of one member ran away with another man, and when her husband brought her back he made her eat dung by way of punishment.

It should be noted that most of these explanations take no account of the fact of matrilineal descent among the Crow.

THE FATHER'S CLAN.

From several statements it appeared that the paternal clan had nothing to do with the regulation of marriages. One-blue-bead's wife and father were both *xúxkaraxtsè*. Ralph Saco, himself an *ū' wut'acè*, married a *xúxkaraxtsè* though his father belonged to that clan; and, what is more, his mother's father was also a *xúxkaraxtsè*, that is to say, his mother also married one of her father's fellow-clansmen. That this is not a liberty peculiar to children of *xúxkaraxtsè* men, is shown by Bull-chief, whose father was an *acirari'o*, but who nevertheless married two women of that clan. There was at first complete agreement as to the perfect propriety of such a marriage. During my most recent visit, however, I encountered a few individuals who assumed a different position. Old-woman said that it was as bad to marry into a father's clan as into one's own, and that she herself had been derided by her joking-relatives for having married a "father" of hers. However, Old-woman is alone in this extreme attitude. Arm-round-the-neck said that a person was not laughed at so much for marrying a member of his or her father's clan as for marrying a fellow-clansman. Finally, On-both-sides explained that it did not look well for people to marry into their father's clan, but that it was done, and that little was said about such marriages provided there was no close blood relationship between the individuals in question.

While there is thus little evidence for any marriage-regulating function of the paternal clan at any time, there are a number of usages that depend solely on a person's father's clan. From these customs, some speculatively inclined ethnologist might argue that the Crow at one time had a gentile system with paternal descent, and the argument would be as plausible as that often advanced in favor of a pristine system of maternal descent.

Members of one's father's clan are treated with great respect, "like medicines" (*ixbā'ra+u karakō'tbuk*), as Old-dog said. A person would not walk in front of them, no matter what might be their age or sex. Regardless of age, the father's clansmen are addressed as "father" (but see p. 208). This, for example, was the term applied by Gray-bull, a man of about sixty-five, to an interpreter in his twenties. Sometimes men were

invited to a feast by one of their fellow-clansmen's children. Hunts-to-die says that the son of an *aci'oce* man sometimes invited all the members of that clan to a feast. When they had done eating, the man nearest the door was asked, "What shall you give to your son?" He might reply, "I dreamt of the ripening plums and chokecherries, and I give this to the boy" (that is to say, "he shall live until the next time the plums and chokecherries are ripe"). The next man possibly gave him, that is, prophesied for him, a coup or the killing of an enemy. One clansman might say, "I dreamt I saw a very old man. I give this to the boy; may he become very old!" When all had spoken, the host rose, and said, "If I strike a coup in the next battle, I will give a horse to So-and-so (the man that gave him a coup); if I see the chokecherry blossom, I will give a blanket to So-and-so," etc. In the old days, when a boy had returned from a war expedition and brought back a horse or otherwise creditably acquitted himself, his father's fellow-clansmen came towards his lodge, performed a short dance there, and then sang laudatory songs. When Yellow-tail shot his first deer, a similar performance was planned, but owing to the breakdown of ancient customs the project was not put into execution. According to Gros-Ventre-horse, it was not only the father's own clan, but the clan linked with it as well, that rejoiced over a young man's exploits (see p. 241). Names of honor were derived from some father's fellow-clansman, and nicknames were conferred on account of some ridiculous action performed by a man or woman in the paternal clan (see p. 216). The name given at birth was also frequently conferred by a member of the father's clan.

Contests. A peculiar form of contest about war honors sometimes occurred between the *sons* of men belonging to one clan and the *sons* of the men of another clan. Shot-in-the-arm and Gray-bull said that such contests were between the clans themselves, the former authority describing the competition between *birik-ō'oce* and *ū'wut'acè*, while Gray-bull referred to a similar contest between *acitsi'te* and *ū'sawatsiē*. Gros-Ventre-horse even denied that these divisions were necessarily along clan lines, saying that the rivalry might be between any two groups of young men. Though the last-named informant thus made the contesting groups quite indefinite, Hunts-to-die and Sharp-horn specified that one side embraced the sons of the men of one clan while the opposing side was made up by the sons of men of the *linked* clan. For example, the sons of the *xúxkaraxtsè* opposed the sons of the *ū'sawatsiē* (Sharp-horn), and the sons of the *ack-ámne*, those of the *àbateúe* (Hunts-to-die). Probably each of the apparently contradictory statements is correct. That is to say, contests about the number of war honors may sometimes have been held by groups of heterogeneous constitution, while the established clan system presented a natural line of

cleavage that was ordinarily followed. However this may be, a comparison of the following two accounts shows that the procedure was alike, whether the grouping was by clans or by fathers' clans.

Shot-in-the-arm tells of a contest between the Whistling-Water and the Greasy-Mouth clans of the River Crow division. The members of the two groups seated themselves on opposite sides of a tipi. Each side had one spokesman. The representative of the Whistling-Water men first proclaimed the number of picketed horses cut by each of his fellow-clansmen in turn. In this count he was assisted by the members themselves. Throughout the contest not only the deeds of clan members belonging to the River Crow, but also those of clansmen in the two other local divisions were taken into consideration. When the reckoning up of both sides had been completed, the spokesman of the winning group planted a stick into the ground. Next the respective numbers of guns taken by the contesting clans were established in the same way. Then followed the number of coups struck, and the number of successful war captains (not of successful war parties led by the captains). The number of married women abducted was also counted. According to Shot-in-the-arm, the Greasy-Mouths scored heavily on every count, but his testimony is not quite trustworthy as he himself belongs to that clan. He saw such a contest, which he calls *matdaepi'o*, only once. According to him, the men that won generally made their children give away presents, but this was not compulsory.¹

Hunts-to-die narrates how on another occasion the sons of the *ack-ámne* met the sons of the *âbatcûe* in corresponding fashion. When the members of these groups had assembled in a large tipi, they divided according to their fathers' clans, each group sitting on one side of the lodge. Several buckets of wild carrot soup had been prepared for the occasion. Each side chose an older man for leader, then they began to recount their creditable deeds, each group endeavoring to excel the other. Tally sticks pegged in the ground were used to record the respective numbers of exploits and as soon as one man had falsely boasted of some deed the opposite side immediately plucked out the corresponding counter. The first thing discussed was the number of war leaders. A captain on one side rose, and said, "I had so many followers, and did so and so." He mentioned every successful party he had led, planting a tally stick into the ground for each one. Then a captain from the other side rose to recount deeds for his side. If he was able to outdo his predecessor, his adherents hallooed for joy. The next points ascertained were the number of coups struck; the number of times

¹ According to Gray-bull, the members of the losing side were obliged to bring pemmican to feast their opponents.

members had dismounted to rescue fellow-tribesmen from a pursuing enemy; the number of horses stolen from the enemy; the number of guns captured; the number of men wounded by the enemy; the number of horses wounded or killed in battle; the number of mules or race horses captured; the number of women "thrown away" by either side; the number of scouts; the number of enemies slain; the number of times tribesmen had been made to ride the same horse with members; the number of war parties that had killed enemies; and the number of horse-raids. Hunts-to-die won the victory one season, having stolen five horses and killed one enemy. When both sides had scored for each count, the victors rose, sang and danced, and gave presents to their joking-relatives.¹ Then a feast was prepared in which all the guests joined. There was no hostility at all between the opposing sides.

Joking Relationship. Persons whose fathers belonged to the same clan stood to one another in a special relationship,—one was the *ĩ'watkucè*² of the other. Thus, Hunts-to-die, himself a Sore-lip, was permitted to joke with the sons of *ack-ámne* men, because his father was a member of that clan.

The term "joking" in this connection requires further explanation. An *ĩ'watkucè* was permitted to play practical jokes on another without incurring his anger. For example, a man finding a joking-relative's wagon outside a house may reverse the wheels. Under ordinary circumstances, the owner of the wagon would resent such action, but as soon as he finds out who has played the joke he cannot get angry, though he may cast about for a chance to retaliate. However, one of the principal notions connected with the institution described is the privilege of certain people to make others ashamed of themselves. For example, if a person had committed some act that was considered wrong, one of his *ĩ'watkucè* might twit him with it and publicly disgrace him, yet such action must not be resented. If Hunts-to-die wore old clothes for a long time without providing himself with new apparel, some *ĩ'watkucè* would tear up his old clothes and present him with a new suit. This made him ashamed.

If a man continued to live with the same woman for a long time, one of his joking-relatives might twit him with it, saying, "You are next to a dead thing," (*dĩ wacé rúck-usàzke'eték*). For, Gray-bull explained, women might be likened to a herd of buffalo, and the man who always lived with one wife was like a hunter who, after killing the last of the fleeing buffálo, has not heart enough to pursue the rest. Sometimes the sons of fellow-

¹ See below. My notes add "of the other side", which is unintelligible unless the joking-relationship was extended to sons of members of the same clan-association.

² *bi'watkucè*, "my joking-relative."

clansmen teased each other about war parties. One would say, "I have brought back a horse but you did not."

One of Fire-weasel's wife's joking-relatives was a young, good-looking man, but he married an old maid. She spoke to him as follows: "You had better marry a frog, or a mouse, or some other animal, than marry an old maid. What is an old maid good for?" The man addressed never said a word, but merely sat there laughing.

A woman was told by her joking-relatives: "You are not good enough to attract any man"; or, "you have never put up a tent"; "you have never beaded any blankets"; "you have eloped many times" ("*di + arē'tuk*"); "you are exceedingly lazy, you never do beadwork or make moccasins for your husband." Both male and female joking-relatives were permitted to reproach a woman in this manner.

According to Gros-Ventre-horse, the privilege of joking obtains not only between sons of fellow-clansmen, but also between sons of members of linked clans. Thus, Robert Yellow-tail may joke not only with sons of *acitsi'te*, but also of *acirari'o* men; and similarly sons of *acpēnuce*, *ū'sawatsi'e*, and *xūxkaraxtsē* may joke with one another. This is corroborated by Old-dog.¹

A stereotyped method of procedure, mentioned by many informants, was for one of the jokers to cut off a lock of a "relative's" hair, saying, "I married you, and I am throwing you away." In such a case the person whose hair was cut was entitled to get a good horse by way of compensation; if an entire braid of hair was cut, he would receive four horses. One-horn said that the cut hair was given to a chief, who would put it on a war shirt or shield.

The following concrete instances were given by Bull-chief. Two joking-relatives named Smoke and Hairy respectively, the sons of two *aci'oce* men, were once disputing about their coups. Suddenly Hairy got angry, took his knife and cut off a long braid of hair from Smoke's head. By way of compensation, he gave Smoke his best horse. The Indians said, "He is like a man who has thrown away his wife." According to my notes, Hairy was more or less looked down upon thereafter, while Smoke got a good reputation. It is highly probable, however, that the names have been interchanged, for other informants agree that it was the man who lost his hair that was disgraced. Some, I was told, would rather die than suffer this indignity. A few years ago a man named Young-wolf met a woman whose father, like his own, was a Whistling-Water. He cut off a lock of her hair, tied it to a long stick and carried it about the camp, singing. The

¹ Cf. also p. 204, footnote.

woman had two sons, who urged her to retaliate. Accordingly, she once sneaked up to him from behind while he was seated and cut off some of his hair, which she likewise attached to a stick and carried through camp, singing. She gave Young-wolf three horses; he had also given her many presents. Bull-chief adds that people were ashamed to have their hair cut by a joking-relative.

Bull-weasel's mother says that women never cut each other's hair.

If a Crow had rescued a fellow-tribesman in battle and chanced upon someone about to clip a joking-relative's hair, he might walk up to the latter and say, "On such and such an occasion I saved a Crow, and now I will save you also." Then the would-be haircutter always desisted.

The Hidatsa also had the joking relationship between sons of fellow-clansmen, and the following special analogy with the Crow custom is of comparative interest. If one joking-relative (*makútsati*) had gained the honor of first striking an enemy, he might cut off a lock from another *makútsati*'s hair, saying, "I cut off the scalp of a man of this size." As soon as he had put hand on the other's hair, the latter would exclaim, "Well, brother, you will give me your best horse!" Sometimes he might say instead, "Very well, cut it, you will give me your wife!" Sometimes the successful warrior would say to his *makútsati*, "I struck an enemy of this size," at the same time dealing his joking-relative a heavy blow as if he were an enemy. As among the Crow, a joking-relative never got angry at another.¹

RÉSUMÉ.

The social organization of the Crow is thus characterized by a division of the tribe into a number of exogamous units with maternal descent, these clans being grouped together in six or seven nameless, for the most part non-exogamous, clan-associations of probably later origin. Linked clans were on friendly terms with each other and fraternized on tribal hunts; possibly the tendency not to marry a member of one's linked clan, which occurs in two associations, may be viewed as the last step in the progressive affiliation of originally quite distinct clans. While marriage regulations had to do only with one's own clan, or one's own clan-association, or at most in a subordinate way with the father's clan, a considerable number of customs, including the joking-relationship and the derivation of personal and nicknames, were dependent on the paternal clan, which is accordingly of very great importance in the social life of the tribe.

¹ These data were obtained from Wolf-chief at Independence, Ft. Berthold Reservation, North Dakota.

Compared with other tribes in the Plains area, the Crow show practically no similarity with any people but the Hidatsa, and even in this one instance the relationship is not especially close unless contrasted with the differences between Crow and Hidatsa on the one hand and all the neighboring tribes on the other. The Crow and Hidatsa systems resemble each other in being founded on the exogamous clan with maternal descent, while all other tribes of the region that have been studied with reference to their social organization had either no definite social subdivisions at all or followed the rule of patrilineal descent.¹ Here, however, the resemblance ends. While the clans of both tribes bear designations of the nickname type, this trait is too widely diffused to be significant, and there is not a single clan name in either tribe that corresponds to a clan name in the other. Among the Crow there is no suggestion of a dual division, while the Hidatsa clans are assembled in two moieties distinguished by the number of their constituent units as the Three-Clans and Four-Clans. Obviously, these definite social groups cannot be considered the equivalents of the six nameless Crow clan-associations.

It thus appears that not only are the Crow and Hidatsa quite different from the surrounding Plains tribes of both the Siouan and other stocks, but even between the Crow and Hidatsa there are far-reaching differences. Accordingly, we cannot advance in any positive way the theory that their social systems are but differentiations from an older system that existed prior to their separation.

RELATIONSHIP.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.²

The Crow system of relationship shares a number of important characteristics with that found in several other Siouan languages. Among these is the frequent use of distinct terms by men and women for what we should consider the same relationship, and the extensive use of terms in direct address different from those used in speaking of one's own or another's relatives. One of the peculiarities of the Crow system that, so far as I know, differentiates it from that of most other American tribes, is the occasional neglect of differences of generation. Thus, as will be seen presently, a grandson is addressed in the same way as a son, and a mother's brother is regarded as an elder brother.

¹ The Mandan in all probability resembled the Hidatsa in this point, but it seems doubtful whether their old social organization can still be determined in a satisfactory way.

² See p. 248.

The following list must not be regarded as exhaustive nor the translations as more than tentative. After repeated revision I came to the conclusion that nothing short of a perfect knowledge of the Crow language would suffice for a perfect list of terms of consanguinity and affinity. For, in addition to the common enough multiplicity of meanings for any one term when translated into English, the student of the Crow has to deal with distinct native terms expressing delicate shades of meaning that are fully known only to the older Indians. In the following enumeration the Crow terms are given with their several meanings, so far as ascertained, and together with such comment as was obtained.

aksé is a word used for "his (or her) parents."

axé is used by males in directly addressing a father, a mother's sister's husband, a father's sister's husband, a father's brother, and any male member of the father's clan regardless of his age as compared with the speaker's. Coextensive in application, but used exclusively in speaking of "my father," is the term *mirúpxe*, which changes to *di'rupxe* and *irúpxe* for the second and third person, respectively, of the possessive pronoun. *irúpxe* and its variants are also used of a man's father-in-law. From this I feel practically convinced, though I do not positively know, that when a man speaks to his father-in-law at all he calls him *axé*.

basbā'xi'e is used, probably by both sexes, in speaking of a father's own or clan sister.

mā'sa'ke is used by men, and perhaps also by women, in speaking of a father's clan (and possibly also of his own) brother. In a prayer recorded during my first visit to the Crow, the sun is addressed as *nā'sa'ka*, which my then interpreter translated "uncle." However, another interpreter declared that in address the term was inadmissible, and should be replaced by *axé*. The word seems to contain an element meaning "old" which also appears in the terms next to be considered. *ása'ke* (plural, *ása'kùe*) is the form as used without a possessive prefix.

axé isá'ke is used by males in addressing, and *mirúpx-isà'ke* in speaking of, a father's or mother's father.

masā'ka is the female term of address for a father, a father's brother, a father's sister's husband, and a husband's father. The coextensive term used in speaking of these relatives is formed by changing the terminal *a* to *e*. Corresponding to this difference and to the formation of the men's word for "grandfather," we find for the women's equivalents *masā'k-isà'ka* and *masā'k-isà'ke* respectively.

bí'watkucè, "my joking relative" (see p. 204), may be applied by both sexes in speaking of any child of a father's fellow-clansman.

i'g-a' is used by both sexes in addressing a mother, a mother's own or

clan sister, a father's brother's wife, and a father's sister. A woman thus addresses her husband's mother and, provided the mother-in-law taboo has been removed (see p. 209), a man calls his wife's mother by the same designation.

masa'ké, used only in speaking of an individual, seems to be coextensive with *i'g-a'*.

masa'ká're, according to my most recent notes, is used by both sexes for "my grandmother," whether in direct address or in the third person. An earlier note indicates a change to *masa'káarë'* for the non-vocative form.

irō'oce is used by both sexes in addressing male persons who call the speaker *axé* or *i'g-a'*. That is to say, it is applied by a man to his own son, his own brother's or clan brother's son; and by a woman to her own son, her own sister's or clan sister's son, her brother's son, and (provided the taboo has been removed) to her daughter's husband. *irō'oce* is moreover the only term used in directly addressing one's son's or daughter's son. That is to say, in direct address the difference in generation between a son and a grandson is ignored.

xū'utse is applied by both sexes, whether in direct address or in speaking in the third person, to all those females addressing the speaker as *masā'ka* or *i'g-a'*. It is also employed by both sexes in speaking to or of a granddaughter.

barā'ke,¹ used by both sexes but never in direct address, means "my child" without sex specification. In order to designate the sex, the words for "man" and "woman," respectively, are suffixed: *barā'kbatsë*, "my son"; *barā'kbî'e*, "my daughter." *barā'ke* and these derivatives are applicable to all persons whom the speaker might address as *irō'oce* or *xū'utse*. Thus, grandparents may refer to their grandchildren in this way although there is also a distinct term, to be noted below. When a grandchild is small, the diminutive *k-āta* is suffixed. Moreover, a parent-in-law of either sex refers to his child's spouse as *barā'kbatsë* or *barā'kbî'e* according to sex, that is, as "my son" or "my daughter."

irō'oce, *xū'utse*, and *barā'ke* are all applicable to adopted and stepchildren, though a stepchild may also be spoken of as *basā'tsi'ke'*, "my step-child."

mācbāpi'te is used by both sexes in referring to a grandchild of either sex.

bī'ik-a is the term used by males in addressing an elder brother or clan brother, a mother's brother whether older or younger than the speaker, a father's brother's son or father's sister's son or mother's sister's son older

¹ From *dā'ke*, "child."

than the speaker. In changing this term to the non-vocative form, the terminal vowel becomes *e*.

basā'are is the term by which females address an elder brother or clan brother, a mother's brother (probably regardless of age), a mother's sister's son or a father's brother's son or a father's sister's son older than the speaker, and a sister's husband older than the speaker. The non-vocative form is given as *basārēē*.

matsū'ka, changed for the non-vocative form to *matsū'ke*, is applied by both sexes to a younger brother and to those persons defined under the two terms immediately preceding by the rule of correlation that a person is called *matsū'ka* by those whom he or she addresses as *bī'ik·a* or *basā'are*, respectively. Thus, as a Crow calls his mother's brother *bī'ik·a*, the latter addresses his "nephew" (according to our English terminology) as *matsū'ka*. A woman calls her sister's husband *matsū'ka* if he is younger than herself.

bacik·ā'ake, literally, "my boy," is sometimes used in a non-vocative sense instead of *matsū'ke*. An older brother may also call his younger brother *marā'axe*, "Crazy."

bāsak·ā'ata is the term used by both sexes in addressing an elder sister, or clan sister, and a mother's sister's daughter or a father's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter older than the speaker. The non-vocative form changes the terminal vowel to *e*.

bāsa'tsī'ita (non-vocative form, *bāsa'tsī'ite*) is used by males in addressing a younger or clan sister, a mother's sister's daughter, a father's sister's daughter, and a father's brother's daughter.

basō'oka (non-vocative, *basō'oke*) is the term applied by females to a younger sister or clan sister, and all those of her own sex who call the speaker *bāsa'kā'ata*.

baku'pe is a word used by both sexes in speaking of those relatives addressed as *bī'ik·a*, *matsū'ka*, *basā'are*, *bāsa'kā'ata*, *bāsa'tsī'ita*, *basō'oka*. It is also used of fellow-clansfolk; for example, if a man marries within his clan, other Indians say, "akúpe áxpēc," "He has married his sister."

bacbatē (literally, "my man") and *bacbi'e* (literally, "my woman") are employed by both sexes in speaking to or of a fellow-clansman and fellow-clanswoman respectively.

In polygamous marriages all the children called all the wives "mother" so long as they continued to live with their common husband. Accordingly, all the children were one another's brothers and sisters and used the appropriate relationship term according to age and sex. If the common father died and one of the wives re-married, she was no longer called "mother" by the children of other wives. Women married to the same man might call one another *hī'ra*, the word applied by any woman to a comrade of her

own sex (see p. 212); they might also address one another by name. It should be noted in this connection that wives of a common husband were not infrequently sisters or "cousins" in our sense who were regarded as younger and elder sisters.

The terms applied to each other by husband and wife depended on the permanence of their matrimonial relationship. If a woman was sure of being kept by her husband all her life, she would call him by his name. If the husband had no intention of casting her off he would either address her by name or by the term *hě'ha*, the second syllable of which is said to indicate a request or command. If a woman felt that she might be divorced for having an illicit attachment or for some other reason, she addressed her husband as *hirā'kek*. In such a case she spoke of her husband as *i'rē'k*, "that one," or *i'wē'k*, "that one who is moving," and the same terms would be used by the husband in referring to her. *āxpe*, a stem apparently indicating companionship in any sense, may be used verbally for "to marry" and substantively for "his spouse." I am not sure that it is used of a husband as well as of a wife. *ūE* is the ordinary term for "his wife," varied to *būE* and *du'E* for the first and second person, respectively, of the possessive. *tsirē* is the word for "husband" generally, but is never used in address. It might be employed, for example, by parents-in-law speaking to their daughter of her husband.

As explained elsewhere, a man is ordinarily tabooed from conversing with his parents-in-law, hence there are no specific modes of address. The term *bucē* may be used in referring to them, as well as to one's wife's brother's wife or other connections tabooed from conversation. I understand the word to be used reciprocally. However, in speaking of a wife's parents, it is more respectful for a man to call them *bačbā'-xarīe*, "my old ones," while the mother-in-law may be referred to as *bašxārīe*, "my old one," a designation also employed by grown-up men in speaking of their own mothers.

As already indicated, a woman addresses her parents-in-law as if they were her own parents. In referring to them, she may use both *masā'ke* and *baš'isā'ke* for the father-in-law, and *masa'ké*, *bač-ā'are* ("my old woman"), or *i'rē'k k-ā'are* ("that old woman") for the mother-in-law.

bā'aci is the men's mode of addressing the husband of a sister or of a clan sister; reciprocally, it is used in speaking to a wife's brother. The non-vocative form, *barā'ace*, changes to *dirā'ace* and *irā'ace* for the second and third person of the possessive, respectively. As my wife calls her mother's brother her own brother, he becomes my brother-in-law in Crow nomenclature. My wife's elder sister is *buāwa + isē*, her younger sister *bu'akariē'ta*,¹

¹ I do not know whether these two terms are used in address or only in the non-vocative.

while my wife's sister's husband is my "brother," according to his age as compared with mine.

bu'aka, or *bu'ake* in the non-vocative, is a man's way of addressing, or speaking of, his own brother's or his clan brother's wife. For obvious reasons, it is also applied to a mother's brother's wife.

baku'pkā'ta (non-vocative-*e*) is said to indicate greater respect, and is also used by women in the sense defined below.

bactsitē is used by a woman in speaking of her husband's own brother or clan brother, regardless of his age as compared with the speaker's. In direct address she calls him her elder or younger brother, according to his relative age, or may even address him, if younger, as *irō'oce*.

A husband's sister is addressed by a woman as *xū'utse* if she is older than the speaker. Both these words indicate respect, while *hirā'k* is not respectful, though sometimes used in calling the same relative. For the non-vocative *basō'k* or *baku'e* is used, the former, I believe, only if the person spoken of is younger than the speaker.

baku'pkā'ta is a woman's term of address for a brother's wife. For the non-vocative she will use *basā'kā'ate* (see above), or, to prevent misunderstandings, *bacī'ekarīete*.

COMRADES.

If two boys became very intimate with each other, continuing their friendly relations even after marriage, joining in war parties, and so forth, they were regarded as comrades (*ī'rapā' tuε*; singular: *ī'rapā' tse*). Gray-bull had such a comrade and is called "father" by his friend's children, who give presents to his wife. Comrades exchange gifts in the manner customary among relatives, giving each other elk-tooth dresses and other articles of value.

The term *ī'rapātse* is used, by a natural extension of this meaning, for any kind of friend, though most appropriately for the "partner" of Western slang.

Men who have married sisters are not considered as related in the strict sense of the term, but do call each other *mī'rapātse* (first person possessive form of the terms used above). This, for example, is the way Gray-bull and Horn address each other.

With women this relationship does not seem to have been equally prominent, but there is a term for "female companion," *hī'raawè*, that is said to correspond to *mī'rapātse*.

PSYCHIC INTERCOURSE.

For the rules, whether positive or negative, that regulate the social relations of relatives by blood or connections by marriage Sternberg has introduced the convenient phrase "psychic intercourse."¹

Most important among the rules of avoidance among the Crow is the parent-in-law taboo.² A man must not speak to his wife's mother or father, and *vice versa*. Both the mother-in-law's and the father-in-law's fellow-clanswomen are included in the taboo, and the term *buce'* is applied in speaking of them (see p. 211). The father-in-law taboo was somewhat less strict and to-day, at all events, it seems that some fathers-in-law converse with their sons-in-law, while others do not, but the rule against speaking to one's mother-in-law is still rigorously observed. In 1907 I once wished to draw out my interpreter's mother-in-law with regard to the games played in her youth. My interpreter, instead of asking her directly, translated each query for his wife, who repeated it to her mother. The old woman replied to her daughter, who repeated the answer to her husband, and he finally translated it into English. There exists an additional rule against pronouncing any word that forms part of the mother-in-law's name. Thus, another of my interpreters never used the word *bā'warātse*, "writing." The father-in-law's name may be pronounced, but it is not polite to do so in his presence.

It seems to be possible to remove the taboo by a substantial gift to the parents-in-law. Thus, Sharp-horn remarked that, if a man presented either parent-in-law with two or three horses, conversation was permitted thereafter. Another informant suggested that a gift of \$100 might remove the ban; if I understood him correctly, a return gift was made.

When a man's wife has died, the deceased woman's mother may absolve both herself and her son-in-law from the customary taboo by addressing him as her son. Thereafter the relationship between them is like that of mother and son, and is not dissolved even if the man should re-marry.

There seem to be no corresponding parent-in-law taboos for a woman. Her husband's parents are addressed and treated by her as if they were her own and she assists her mother-in-law in the ordinary household duties, fetching water and preparing meals. According to one note, however, a

¹ See Goldenweiser, pp. 249-251.

² Maximilian (II, 132), in discussing this taboo among the Mandan and Hidatsa, incidentally denies its existence among the Arikara and Crow. As the usage, however, seems very firmly rooted among the Crow, I am inclined to doubt the authenticity of his information even for his day, especially as he had no opportunity to make a thorough-going study of this tribe.

woman sometimes abstained from conversation with her father-in-law and would not pronounce his name.

A man never speaks to his wife's brother's wife, and *vice versa*. For instance, Crane-bear has, among other children, a daughter married to a man named Bird, and a son named Old-crane. In accordance with the rule, Old-crane's wife and Bird never hold conversation with each other.

Brothers-in-law are on terms of the very greatest friendship. They may jest with each other, one brother-in-law being permitted to say that the other has never been on a war party. But any personal references of an obscene character are strictly tabooed between them. Thus, I once pretended in jest to be Arm-round-the-neck's brother-in-law, but happened to mispronounce the appropriate term of address, so that my informant mistook it for a personal allusion to his privates. Playing his assumed part, he promptly dealt me a blow.

Even outsiders must not make such personal allusions in speaking to a man if his wife's brother or sister's husband is present, and must at once cut short any obscene remark to a man if the latter's brother-in-law should enter. If the speaker is not aware of the fact that the brother-in-law of the person he is jesting with is present, someone will inform him to that effect. If this is not done, the person about whom obscene remarks are made will himself inform the speaker, who immediately breaks off his remarks, feeling severely rebuked.

If a man wishes to make an obscene remark to another, he must not do so even if merely the latter's *clan* brother-in-law (for instance, a wife's clansman) is present. In this case, however, the "brother-in-law" may be requested to go away. Unless this is done, this "brother-in-law" will strike the jester for making the remark in his presence. Failing this, the man jesting with will say to his "brother-in-law," "Strike him, or I will strike *you*."

The respect thus shown to a brother-in-law is connected with the respect shown for each other by brother and sister. While brother and sister freely play with each other so long as they are children, their social relationship alters completely at the time of puberty. Henceforth, they are not indeed prohibited from holding conversation, but they are not supposed to be together alone. If a man comes to a tent and finds his sister there alone, he will go off immediately. This applies to both elder and younger sisters, and in fact to all who are addressed by these terms in Crow, with the exception of a brother's wife. In former times a sister was often able to dissuade a man from marrying a woman she disliked. Indeed, according to one informant, very few men would refuse to divorce a wife of whom their sisters strongly disapproved, and if a man would not accede to her wishes in such a case, a sister might disown her brother.

A man was on terms of the greatest familiarity with the wife of his own or his clan brother. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in the selection of a virtuous man for a certain office in the Sun Dance, those were explicitly disqualified who had taken liberties with their sisters-in-law.

NAMES.

A child might receive a name from its father, but it was more commonly named by some other person upon the father's invitation. This took place about four days after birth. If a child was sickly it would receive another name, and if that did not improve matters, then, according to In-the-mouth, another man was asked to name it.

Names are probably still most frequently conferred so as to describe some warlike deed of the namer's. In other instances they have been suggested to him in a dream or vision; thus Medicine-crow named one of Jim Carpenter's girls "Walks-with-her-dress" because in a vision he had seen a supernatural being so named. Girls were sometimes named by old women, but not by any means necessarily by members of their own sex. As a rule, the parents invited people of prominence to name their children.

Bull-chief was once requested by a girl's father to name her after the hardest fight he had ever been in. Before formally conferring the name, my informant made some incense of *isê* root, as the Crow had been instructed to do on such occasions in ancient times. Then he raised the infant aloft, this being a symbol of his wish that she might grow up, and finally called her "Takes-the-medicine-pipe" (i'ptsewaxpenū'tsec). This was in commemoration of an encounter during which Bull-chief had rushed up towards the enemy and plucked away a medicine-pipe that was protruding from their fortifications. On another occasion the same informant was invited to name a boy, and this time he conferred a name suggested to him in a dream. Bull-chief also named his own grandson. He had once struck a coup under such dangerous circumstances that no other Crow had struck after him, and accordingly he called his grandchild, "His-coups-are-dangerous" (istā'kce retsirā'tc).

The method described by Bull-chief seems to have been the customary one, but he fails to mention that the godfather raises the child four times, lifting it a little higher each time. Another informant says that the baby's face is painted red and that the incense is held towards its face.

The godfather is either compensated on the spot, or the parents may defer payment, saying, "If this boy shall ever walk, he will give you a horse."

Women rarely changed their names, except when a namesake had died. Thus Cuts-the-picketed-mule formerly bore the same name as Medicine-crow's mother. When the latter died, Medicine-crow gave her her present name. He had once cut two picketed mules, and being a joking-relative of the woman he named her accordingly. Gray-bull added, however, that his being a joking-relative was immaterial. This informant does not know of any *man* changing his name on account of a namesake's death.

According to Muskrat, a woman who had thrown away her husband (possibly the one mentioned by another informant, see p. 224) bought a new name in commemoration of her act. The name she obtained had originally been that of a great man, *araxi'nētc*, "No-lavender (?)". Later, Muskrat bought this name for a horse.

A girl or woman might receive a nickname based on some ridiculous act performed, either by herself, or by one of her father's fellow-clanswomen. For example, Bull-chief mentioned a woman named "Lying-with-a-dry-hide." One of the women in her father's clan had pretended to be lying with a man, while in reality she had merely laid beside her an unfolded parfleche, which she addressed in whispered words. The inmates of the lodge discovered her deceit, and accordingly bestowed, not on her, but upon her clan-daughter the name *batátsarxaxpì'c*, the translation of which has been given above. Another woman once got angry and hit herself over the head with a stone club. Accordingly, Hits-herself-over-the-head (*i'tsicē're dític*) is a name handed down to one of her brother's children.

Men frequently assumed new names after the performance of some creditable deed. Thus Gray-bull's birth-name was Last-bull. When, however, he had struck his first coup, his fellow-clansmen gave him the name of a famous warrior in his father's clan, who received a horse as payment. A similar instance is given by Bull-chief. A man who wore a long queue in the back resembling that of a Chinaman had a father's fellow-clansman who was short and fat so that people poked fun at him, saying that he had a big shade. When the clan-son became a great warrior, he himself acquired the name Big-shade, and his father bade him pay a horse to the fat man, because the name had been derived from him. On one occasion a Crow riding a pinto horse ran in a conspicuous manner in among a band of retreating Sioux. The other Crow Indians took him in their midst, and one old man called him Owner-of-a-pinto-horse, by which name he was known thereafter. At birth Bull-chief was named "Bull-weasel" by a father's fellow-clansman, because the latter had received a vision from a weasel. However, when he had grown up he did not enjoy a good reputation because he had returned from a war expedition empty-handed. One day his own father had a vision of a buffalo, called in my informant, made incense, and

said to him, "I will make a man of you." He bade his son take a bath and smoke himself with the incense on coming in again. Then he painted his son all yellow, put a red eagle feather on his head, and drew two slanting lines across the arms, one line to bring luck in striking coups, the other for similar luck in taking away the enemies' guns. "These two things," said Bull-chief's father, "are what we like among our people. If you perform these deeds I will re-name you. The first time you strike a coup that is not disputed (see p. 238) and also get a gun, either at the same time or later, I will give you a new name. 'Bull-weasel' is not a good name for you, so you had better have it changed." My informant went out with the first war party and actually took an enemy's gun and counted coup on him. When he got back his father called him "Bull-chief," and my informant became a war-captain and was esteemed a very brave man.

Bear-gets-up's first name was Many-foxes. After he had married his first wife he performed some creditable deed and was named after one of his father's brothers, who had been killed. Thereafter he never used his first name, though he might do so if he chose.

Nicknames given to men were frequently of an obscene character.

One young man whom I met in the Reno District in 1907 was called "In-the-corner-of-his-testicles." In-the-mouth recounted various instances of such nicknames. One man was called "Potato-mentulae-caput"; viris et mulieribus "hand-game" ludentibus penem eximium magnitudine Scolds-the-bear (obj.) monstravit. Qui magnitudine quid esset nescit, tunc demum, "illius mentulae caput 'potato' aequat," exclamavit. Another man went to a wolf den in search of wolves. Quo loco inire voluit sodales cacaverat ita ut excrementa vultum inquinarent. Quare filius viri eiusdem gentis (*clan*) "Faeces-in-vultu" appellatus est. Another man was called "Cunnum ut fumet orat" because he had once pointed his pipe towards a woman's vagina while smoking.

Other nicknames are of a different type. Old-dog received his present name from leading an old dog on the warpath to carry his moccasins. For a corresponding reason, another man was called Tough-necked-dog. A third warrior wore a small whetting-stone round his neck, and was named Small-whetting-stone.

Some nicknames are obviously adopted by the people in general and supersede the individual's former names.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

When a woman is in labor, two sticks are stuck into the earth at the head of her pillow, and soft comforters are piled up beneath. The woman seizes the two sticks with her hands, her elbows resting on the pillow, and kneels with her legs spread wide apart. The attendants give her some weed juice to drink in order to hasten the delivery, and hold her tight above the abdominal region. When the child has been delivered, they cut off all but three fingers' breadth of the navel cord.

Both men and women may act as obstetricians; some men are among the most skilful practitioners. The obstetrician is liberally feed. Thus, Gray-bull's wife successfully treated a woman who had previously obtained no relief from two other doctors and received from the patient's relatives one horse, a blanket, four comforters, some new calico, and some money. When she herself was in confinement, her husband paid the doctor three horses. During my visit the Gray-bull couple had the offer of a cow if they should come to treat a woman who was in childbed.

According to In-the-mouth and others, the part of a girl's navel cord that drops off is rolled up in a piece of cloth and put into a beaded sack. When the child is old enough to wear an elk-tooth dress, this sack is tied to its back. Before that age, it is attached to the cradleboard.

About two days after a child's birth, its mother pierced its ears with a heated awl and then stuck a greased stick through the perforations. When the sores were cured, earrings were put in. The ceremonial piercing of ears was not a Crow custom.

The naming ceremony, which took place about four days after birth, is described in a separate section.

Crow women while rocking their babies to sleep, often sing lullabies that are supposed to have been originally heard in dreams or obtained by an ancestor who overheard the song of some female animal lulling her offspring. Of the songs noted, one is that of a wolf, another is believed to have been obtained from a bear, and a third from a dog. The following wolf lullaby is very popular and known to all the Crow.

awē'raxkē ta bāwasā'Ecī wa,

On the hillside I was running,

bacū'ca daxē'tsixelē, daxē'tsixelē.

my knee I skinned, I skinned.

tsēt ā'cu-hi'cik-ā ta, ā'cu-hi'cik-ā ta.¹

The wolf red-headed, the red-headed one.

¹ This line is also given in another form, so as to mean "wearing the wolf mask."

awaku'saat	ē'rusā ^a k		
Farther off	cannot ease himself.		
ī'sa	ara'papē i;	awakō'wate	barapē'ik-ā ta,
His face	itches,	in all seasons	he kills,
ciwici'kik'atā wae			
gets yellow with fat.			
mi'cg'ex	basū'rake,	ō pī'rake.	ha'ha, hu'hu! ha'ha, hu'hu!
The dog	gets full,	he smokes.	Ha'ha, hu'hu! Ha'ha, hu'hu!

The Crow are not in the habit of punishing children by beating them. When a child is crying for a long time, the parents put it on its back and pour water down its nose. If at some later time the child begins to cry, the parents merely say, "Bring the water!" Then the child generally stops.

Children were sometimes adopted by their grandparents. Brothers and sisters might adopt one another's children, and more particularly a sister would often adopt a brother's child. People might also adopt a fellow-clansman's child; in such a case they expected presents from the parents in return for the trouble of bringing up the child. If the adoptive parent was not of the child's clan, the latter seems to have been reckoned as in some way belonging to both clans, and it was best for such a person not to marry into either of the clans. The adoptive parents took good care of the children and treated them like their own, presenting boys with horses and girls with elk-tooth dresses.

Gray-bull himself raised a boy because he looked exactly like one of his own sons, who had died. He brought the boy up until he got married, when he returned to his own father. This boy's father was a member of the Not-Mixed clan, while his mother was an *aci'oce*. The boy always belonged to the *aci'oce* clan, regardless of Gray-bull's affiliations. Gray-bull's own son, Grasshopper, was adopted by a *birik-ō'oce* woman and counted as a member of her clan, until he was grown-up, when he returned to his own parents and was reckoned a member of his mother's clan with the privilege of marrying a *birik-ō'oce* girl.

Walking-bird was adopted by Gray-bull's mother-in-law, which made him an adoptive brother of Gray-bull's wife, and accordingly Gray-bull's brother-in-law. They call each other by this term of relationship (*maci'*), and exchange presents.

MENSTRUATION (i'maxùE).

One old woman, whose statement is confirmed by Bull-chief, said that girls were generally married before puberty, and that accordingly the Crow had no menstrual lodges. While the fact of early marriages seems well established, the former existence of menstrual lodges is affirmed by Child-in-his-mouth and his wife. They say that long ago menstruating women stayed in a special tipi, eating wild roots and abstaining from meat for four days. Then they bathed, got new clothes, smoked them over a fire of evergreen leaves, put them on, and returned to their homes. The majority of my informants, however, deny the existence of menstrual huts. No feast was given in honor of a girl who menstruated for the first time; if she was unmarried, other girls poked fun at her.

The only regulation that seems to persist is that menstruating women must not come near medicine bundles. These must be removed from the lodge until she recovers. In former times the women were obliged to ride inferior horses when in this condition and were not permitted to approach a wounded man or warriors setting out on a war party.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

On various occasions young men paid attentions to the young women admired by them.

In the fall, when the leaves were turning yellow, young men would pick out young women partners to join them in getting lodge poles from the mountains. The girls would cut the trees, and their escorts dragged them and trimmed them for their partners. Finally, all rode home, partners mounting each other's horses.

After coming back from a war party, young men would dress up, mount their best horses, and invite young women to ride behind them. Together they would go to some lodge and sing in front of it. This was called "singing before a tipi."

Young women would accompany young men in going for prime buffalo-hides. Each man had two horses, one on which to ride towards the herd, the other for chasing the buffalo when these were sighted. The latter horse was led by his partner until he was ready to mount, when she took care of the horse he had ridden up to this point. A man would ask his

lady what sort of a hide she wished, and she replied that she wanted that of a bull calf, or whatever it might be. After killing three or four buffalo apiece, the hunters tipped them over for skinning, returned to their mistresses, and brought these to the site of the dead animals. The skins were then cut for backrest covers and what not, everything was packed on horses, and all went homeward, a woman generally riding her escort's hunting-horse. When a couple arrived near the young woman's home, she would throw down the hides, and then return the horse to her escort.

At the time when the berries were ripening a herald urged the young unmarried people to have a scramble for berries. Then the young men and women set out in their best clothes, the latter taking their berry-bags. The young men went up to the young women they desired to have for partners and asked them for permission to take their bags; if snubbed, they felt ashamed. The young women then faced towards the berry patch, a general order was given to advance in that direction, and then all dashed at full speed towards the patch in order to get to the best spot first. The limbs of the shrubs were broken off and taken some distance, then partners joined in picking off the berries. There was a parade back to camp. Partners exchanged horses with each other, each woman riding behind her escort and singing with him. The paraders circled round the camp, and the men took the women back to their homes.

When the wild rhubarb was ripe, men and women joined to gather it in similar fashion. They also came back singing, some of the men returning as if from a war party. Before getting home, they had a feast.

Sometimes, in crossing streams like the Bighorn, the Crow constructed rafts of lodge poles. Ropes were attached to the rafts, on which women and children lay down flat, while the men took the end of the rope in their mouths and swam across the river. On such occasions, the young men would pull their mistresses' rafts.

Corresponding usages to those described in some of the foregoing paragraphs were in vogue during the preparatory stages of the Sun dance ceremony, when young men and women set out to bring in the poles and other things necessary for the proper construction of the lodge.

A custom frequently referred to is best described in this connection. Some unmarried men were wont to pry about the lodges at night. If they got to a tent in which there was sleeping a girl they coveted, they would pull up the pegs outside *ut genitalia manibus tangere possent*. A certain office in the Sun dance ceremonies had to be filled by a "virtuous" young man. In defining his qualifications, several informants specified that he must be one who had never teased his sisters-in-law (see p. 215) and had never indulged in the practice just described, which is called *bierûsace*.

If a man guilty of *bierùsace* was caught by the inmates of the lodge, they made him stretch out his arms, threw a blanket over them, tied each hand to one of the ends of a long stick, and then let him go. In this condition the offender was likely to scare horses. In one instance a young man punished in the manner described lay down to sleep with tied hands and rested until the next morning. He had difficulty in catching up with the camp, which was moving. When the people saw him at a distance, they thought it was some special signal to them and ran up. The horses shied. At last the culprit was released by his brother.

Lovers were wont to go round the camp after night fall, blowing flutes (*i'k'oce waráxue*) for their mistresses' amusement. An especially long flute that was said to produce the sound of an elk call was used for charming women.

If a man who had asked a woman to become his mistress was rebuffed with some such remark as "*dī isā'kee xawī'k*" ("You are a bad young man") or "*dī watscēk'ā't*" ("You are a little man," i. e., presumably a nobody), he would grieve and sometimes mourned for several days. In a vision he sometimes saw a man dressed in a certain fashion, blowing a flute and causing all female animals to come running toward him. When the visionary returned to camp he would make for himself a flute of exactly the same shape and painted in exactly the same way as that revealed to him and would then use it to charm the young woman coveted just as his visitant had charmed the animals. She came to him immediately, and they would spend the night together, but the next morning he had his revenge and publicly cast her out of the lodge. She would attempt to return, but the spurned lover persisted in ejecting her in sight of all the people. Sometimes such a woman would then try to get a vision and might see a man attracted say by some form of incense. She would then prepare the charm indicated in her supernatural communication, and it produced the desired effect. Sometimes the affair ended in marriage. Visionaries of this sort were consulted by women who had had troubles with their husbands and wished to secure some medicine that should adjust matters. Gray-bull says that some women obtained medicines from the Assiniboine, but these worked harm; when put into a man's food they caused him to bleed from the nose and ultimately to die.

Some say that formerly a man did not marry until he had struck a coup; it must of course be remembered that the customs described above gave considerable opportunity for philandering.

The approved way of marrying was for the lover to present horses to the young woman's brother. If wedded on the basis of such a purchase, a couple were more likely to stay together for a long time. If a man had

bought the oldest of a number of sisters in this way, he had the right of marrying the younger girls without making an additional payment. Sometimes a wife and husband would part on account of some disagreement, and in such a case a man generally married the next oldest sister. If the difficulty was smoothed over, both women remained as his wives. If a man did not like his wife, he might buy additional wives.

The less regular way of proposing was for a lover to approach the young woman directly, give her some fine present such as a horse, and induce her to elope with him at a specified time.

According to Lone-tree, young married couples generally went to live with the husband's parents for a while. These were in the habit of giving fine presents to their daughter-in-law, who in turn would help her husband's mother in cooking and fetching water (see p. 211).

If a woman committed adultery, her husband might beat her severely, or even gash her face and head with a knife, but it was not customary to cut off part of her nose in the Blackfoot fashion. An adulteress would often be sent away. Her husband might select some of his older fellow-clansmen, or all the clan members, to punish her by exercising marital rights. The male offender's lodge might be cut down, his lodge poles broken, everything worth having within the lodge appropriated, and the rest destroyed. In addition, several of his horses were sometimes killed.

Sometimes a woman was divorced by her husband for being "cranky." Young children went with the mother; when somewhat older, the boys were taken back by the father, while the girls usually remained with the mother.

It happened occasionally that a young woman deserted an older husband, — a procedure called *batsēkurūpīu*. According to Gray-bull, it was not necessary for the relatives of a woman who ran away from her husband to restore the original purchase price paid for her.

The custom of publicly "throwing away" wives together with good horses is said by Bear-gets-up and Gray-bull to have been introduced by the Hidatsa in connection with the Hot dance.¹ In thus abandoning a wife a man regards her as so much rubbish cleaned out of a house. The act is generally due to a quarrel with the wife or her parents, who may in an indirect way have given offense to their son-in-law. If a wife has been guilty of adultery, that is a reason for throwing her away. A special song is sung during the Hot dance, and anyone desirous of abandoning his wife may then declare his intention. Recently a man threw away three women, all of whom had borne children. Plenty-hawk threw away a wife who had had two children. When the children are young, they naturally

¹ This is the performance known among other Plains tribes as the Grass or Omaha dance.

go with their mother in such cases. When one of the two children was old enough to be married, Plenty-hawk sent her a good horse, and since then father and daughter have met freely. Plenty-hawk has presented his son-in-law with five horses. The fellow-clansmen of a woman abandoned in the way described disapprove of her being discarded, but do not take any action, and apparently there is no redress.

In one instance a woman publicly threw away her husband, who had abandoned a Cheyenne woman for her sake, but continued relations with his former spouse. The Crow woman had a herald announce during a Hot dance that she was throwing away a horse and her husband.

A legitimate form of "mutual wife-stealing" (batsúérā' + u) was practised by two rival societies, the Foxes and the Lumpwoods. It was restricted to these organizations, and even for them only to a very brief period in the beginning of spring. A Fox who had formerly been on terms of intimacy with some Lumpwood's wife might then enter her lodge and abduct her, and *vice versa*. A full description of the usages connected with this practice will be given in a paper devoted to the military organizations.

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth noting that in spite of the frequently mentioned looseness of marital relations, chastity was highly esteemed by the Crow, as is shown by the qualifications for certain offices in the Sun dance, two of which could be filled only by virtuous women and the third by a virtuous man (see p. 215).

CALLING OFF MISTRESSES' NAMES.

There were at least two forms of this usage. When the Crow were on the warpath and had reached the enemy's territory, they might stop, and each man would take out some trinket presented to him by his mistress and call out her name. The more common method, described by several informants, was the following. When on the warpath, a party of Crow would kill a buffalo, cook its guts, and pass them about from one man to another. Each broke off a piece, saying, "I shall bring a horse for So-and-so," mentioning the name of some girl or woman whom he had lain with. Indeed, a warrior might openly announce the fact. After the declaration a man ate the piece of sausage. Sometimes four bark shelters were erected by the warriors, and then the inmates of one tent might bring a pipe to those of another and challenge them to proclaim who their mistresses were. This would oblige them to comply with the request. Once the challengers were surprised to have the other party call off the names of the challengers'

wives, and tried to put an end to the announcements. Ralph Saco states that this custom of breaking off pieces of sausage and calling off mistresses' names was practised the night before sighting an enemy's camp and that only names of married women were mentioned on that occasion. However, he refers to another mode of calling off, when either single or married women might be named.

A young woman explained that the calling off rested on the principle that inasmuch as the warriors were liable to get killed they might as well divulge their secrets.

Bear-gets-up says the form employed in calling off was first to mention the woman's and her husband's name, and then to add, "I slept with her." It was believed that if all the members of a war party spoke the truth they would have good luck. According to one statement, a man naming his mistress said in substance, "I wish to perform such and such a deed as truly as this story I tell is true." Sometimes the woman thus charged with adultery denied her guilt. At times the husbands happened to be of the party and were present at the calling off of their wives' names; some did not seem to care and caused no trouble on their return, while others might leave their faithless spouses.

The custom was called *bi'E ará'sasū'E*, "women's calling off," or, *bi'E tsí'mecdā'sasūe*, "married women's calling off." It is mentioned by Curtis¹ and is quite clearly referred to by Beckwourth in the following passage.

"We all assembled together and marched on. In the forenoon we killed a fine fat buffalo, and rested to take breakfast. The intestines were taken out and a portion of them cleansed and roasted. A long one was then brought into our mess, which numbered ten warriors, who formed a circle, every man taking hold of the intestine with his thumb and finger. In this position, very solemnly regarded by all in the circle, certain questions were propounded to each in relation to certain conduct in the village, which is of a nature unfit to be entered into here. They are religiously committed to a full and categorical answer to each inquiry, no matter whom their confession may implicate. Every illicit action they have committed since they last went to war is here exposed, together with the name of the faithless accomplice, even to the very date of the occurrence. All this is divulged to the *medicine men* on the return of the party, and it is by them noted down in a manner that it is never erased while the guilty confessor lives. Every new warrior, at his initiation is conjured by the most sacred oaths never to divulge the war-path secret to any woman, on pain of instant death. He swears by his gun, his pipe, knife, earth, and sun, which are the most sacred oaths to the Indian, and are ever strictly observed."²

¹ L. c., vol. 4, p. 35.

² Bonner, l. c., p. 157 f. The Blackfoot had essentially the same custom as that described above. See Wissler, (b), p. 267.

BERDACHES (baté).

Maximilian writes of the Crow: "Sie haben viele Bardaches oder Mannweiber unter sich, und sind vor den übrigen Nationen Meister in unnatürlichen Gebräuchen."¹

At present there is but one surviving berdache, who lives in the Bighorn District. I saw him once at Lodge Grass. He is probably over fifty years of age, stands about 5 ft. 7 inches, and is of large build. According to several informants, former agents have repeatedly tried to make him don male clothes, but the other Indians themselves protested against this, saying that it was against his nature. Henry Russell told me that this berdache once fought valiantly in an encounter with the Sioux. He has the reputation of being very accomplished in feminine crafts.

It is impossible to detect a berdache at birth, but as he grows up his weak voice distinguishes him from other boys. Berdaches naturally associate with girls and pretend to have sweethearts among the men.

DEATH.

When a person died, the corpse was wrapped up in the yellow part of the tipi cover called *aedé'cire*, which was tied together with buffalo hide sinew. The corpse was never taken out of the regular entrance, but from the side wherever the deceased happened to have breathed his last.² If the body were taken out by the door, some other person in the same lodge would die soon after. The dead person was arrayed in his best clothes and painted. The people who wrapped up the body thus addressed the deceased:—

"kandari'k., kandi'patsesa, kar' i'tse ā'waxkuwī'awōk."

"You are gone, turn not back, well we wish to fare."

Then the body was placed on a burial scaffold of four forked poles, or in the fork of a tree. Such scaffolds can still be seen on the Crow reservation. In the Bighorn District I also saw the remains of a tree burial. The feet are said to have been placed towards the east, the head was placed towards the west. When the body had decomposed, the bones were sometimes taken down and deposited in rocks. According to Beckwourth, this

¹ Op. cit., I, p. 401.

² Cf. the Ojibway custom recorded by Kohl, p. 149.

double burial was the common method: "The Crows fasten the remains of their dead in trees until their flesh is decayed; their skeletons are then taken down and inhumed in caves. Sometimes, but not frequently, they kill the favorite horse of the deceased, and bury him at the foot of the tree; but that custom is not followed so strictly with them as with most other tribes."¹ Bear-gets-up also says that, if the scaffold fell down, the body might be buried near by.

When a great chief had died, his lodge was decorated with horizontal red stripes, and the corpse was placed on a four-pole platform inside. Thus it was abandoned to destruction from natural causes.

A person killed by the enemy was not taken indoors, but was laid and painted outside, with exposed bust, and was made to hold a feather fan in his hand. All the camp mourned in such a case. When a person had died a natural death, only the mourning relatives cut their hair, chopped off a finger-joint, and gashed their legs, arms, foreheads or heads so as to be covered with blood. Many old and middle-aged Crow now living lack several finger-joints. The relatives absented themselves from the camp for two months, and remained in mourning for an entire season. Leonard extends this period to last twelve or thirteen months. After their return from the hills, but while still in mourning, the women set up a new lodge and performed the necessary work on hides, etc. If the dead person had been slain by the enemy the relatives might also return to camp after two months, but if no enemy had been killed they continued to act as mourners, living in a miserable hut and never indulging in laughter. The retaliatory killing of any member of the tribe at whose hands the mourned-for person had met death put an immediate stop to outward manifestations of grief, "though the relatives' hearts might still be bad."²

Mourners distributed all their property among the people, keeping nothing but their medicines and a little clothing.

Leonard, whose account indicates an actual burial in the ground, says that when a chief had died his horse's tail and mane were docked and buried with him, the assumption being that each hair would turn into a fine horse in the land of spirits. According to the same eye-witness, the burial was followed by a procession through the camp, the musicians drumming in front, while the mourners came behind. The paraders went to the top of an eminence, where men and women separated. The women took an arrow point mounted on a stick and "commenced pricking their heads, beginning at one ear and continuing round the forehead to the other, making incisions

¹ Bonner, I. c., p. 163.

² This statement is also made in Leonard's *Narrative*, p. 272.

half an inch apart all round; and the men went through a similar course on their legs, arms, etc., until the blood oozed out in streams. All this performance was done without creating the least appearance of pain." Then all the women who had lost some near relative or particular friend collected along a log and deliberately cut off a finger at the first joint. The men did the same except that they were careful to spare the two first fingers on the right hand, which were used in bending the bow. Leonard noted many old women who had lost the tip of each finger, while some had even cut off farther. During this performance the other Indians sang, danced, and yelled. Finally the procession returned to the village, the faces of the mourning women daubed with their own blood, which was not removed until it wore off. Leonard states that shaving the hair was an alternative to the more general sacrifice of a finger joint, but according to my information the cutting of the hair was also a general usage.¹

Catlin tells us that the men cut only a number of locks in token of mourning, while women mourning the loss of a husband or child were obliged to crop their hair short to the head and gradually ceased to mourn as their hair approached to its former length.²

GOVERNMENT.

It is extremely difficult to get a clear notion of the former tribal government of the Crow. As far as I am able to see, there was no strong central power except at the time of a buffalo hunt or of some similar occasion calling for concerted effort. Those who had distinguished themselves in war by performing the four recognized deeds of valor (see p. 230) formed an aristocracy of "chiefs" (*batsē'tse*) and were highly esteemed. One of these acted as camp-chief, that is, he decided when and where the people were to camp. The feeling of ambition and rivalry connected with this martial aristocracy is well described in Leonard's *Narrative*,³ though I have found little to support his statement that there were two definitely distinguished grades of Small and Great Braves below those of Little and Great Chiefs. Leonard's definition of the two kinds of chiefs also appears to be not quite accurate, for according to my data a camp (Great) chief was elected, and the attainment to a (Little) chief's station depended primarily not on the mere number of recognized deeds of bravery performed, but on their includ-

¹ Leonard, l. c., pp. 271-272.

² Catlin, I, p. 50.

³ P. 258 f. Leonard met the Crow in 1833 and 1834.

ing at least one of each type. However, Blue-bead spoke of chiefs of several degrees, those who had carried the pipe ranking those with two or three coups to their credit, who in turn took precedence of those who had captured two or three guns. On the other hand, Leonard is probably right in saying that only chiefs were entitled to debate matters of tribal interest, for though it is not certain how the camp-chief was chosen, and for how long a time, one informant states that the election was by a council of prominent men — presumably, the chiefs as defined above. The same authority says that a camp-chief continued to act until he voluntarily resigned his office. Lone-tree states that under some camp-chiefs a tribe had good luck and then they would remain in office for a long time; but if the Crow had bad luck, they changed chiefs. Everything seems to point to the fact that the camp-chief had ordinarily strictly limited powers and was simply the foremost among the chiefs.

Every spring the camp-chief appointed *one* of the military societies to serve as a police force; or the members might volunteer to do police duty. The Foxes, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Big Dogs, Muddy Hands, and Muddy Mouths are all said to have acted at one time or another in this capacity. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the taking of turns, and the weight of evidence is in favor of the view that one society might be appointed several times in succession.¹ The policemen were known as *aki's'at'è* (compare Sioux *aki'tcita*), and their function *aki's'at'ùe*.

The principal duty of the police was to prevent the premature startling of a herd in a buffalo hunt. Offenders were severely whipped, their weapons might be broken, and what meat they had taken on their illegal hunting expeditions was liable to confiscation. It was also customary for the police to restrain war parties from setting out at an inopportune moment. Leonard's account of the police is substantially in agreement with the data supplied by my informants; his statement that the principal chief had the power of vetoing every act of the constabulary is worth noting.² Hostilities within the camp were prevented by the use of pipes, as noted by Beckwourth. "We drew out battle-axes at the same instant and rushed at each other, but before either had an opportunity to strike, the pipe was thrust between us, compelling us to desist, to disobey which is instant death."³ On another occasion the same writer mentions similar interference by the police to prevent hostilities between two rival societies.⁴

¹ Bear-gets-up said that even within the same season different societies might assume police functions.

² Leonard, p. 257f.

³ Bonner, l. c., p. 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Announcements of tribal interest were made by a herald (*âcipërerā'+u*) riding through the camp. Usually a man of distinction, more particularly the leader of a successful war party, was selected for this office. During the July celebration at Lodge Grass in 1911 White-man-runs-him acted as herald.

The punishment of offences against tribal custom, so far as they relate to matrimonial and clan affairs, have already been dealt with in other sections. The informal punitive function of public derision, as illustrated by the liberties of the joking-relatives (p. 204) and the derisive songs composed on certain occasions (p. 245), must not be underrated in this connection, for to be made the laughing-stock of his people is a real and severe punishment for a Crow. In case of murder, as already shown, the punishment of the murderer (*âkbiritsirupé*) was a clan affair, but an indemnity seems to have been usually offered to the avengers and accepted by them. Thus, during the celebration of a victory a man once killed a boy for running into his shield. The people were going to kill him, but he himself immediately chopped off all his fingers, gashed his legs, and cut his hair. He ran into the tent where his wife and children were staying, and his wife's relations offered property to the would-be avengers, who spared the criminal's life, merely killing all his horses.

WAR CUSTOMS.

There are four types of deeds that were generally recognized as meritorious and counted for the title of a "chief": "the carrying of the pipe," that is, the leadership of a successful war party; the striking of a coup; the taking of an enemy's gun or bow; and the cutting of a horse picketed in the enemy's camp (*bā'pack-ū'o*). A "chief" was a man who had at least one deed of each type to his credit. In Lodge Grass there are said to be but two men living whose record entitles them to be regarded as chiefs in the old Crow sense, viz. Medicine-crow and Gray-bull. In Pryor the chiefs are Plenty-coups, Bell-rock, Sits-in-the-middle-of-the-ground, and Has-no-ground. Medicine-crow regarded himself and Plenty-coups as the only real chiefs of the entire tribe.

Three native terms are translated "coup." Of these, *dā'akce* designates what might be called the "coup proper," that is, the actual striking of an enemy, though Gray-bull makes it include in addition the taking of a gun at the same time. The other two, *ack-âpe* and *araxtsi'e*, seem to refer to any of the martial deeds recognized as meritorious.

Scalping, though said to have been extensively practised by the Sioux, is not regarded as a specially creditable deed by the Crow, and did not count for the chieftaincy. An informant said to me, "You will never hear a Crow boast of his scalps when he recites his deeds"; and this statement is confirmed by my experience.

An exploit that is said to have taken precedence over all others in the estimation of the tribe but was probably of too rare occurrence to be enumerated among the exploits leading to the title of chief was that of turning back one's horse to rescue a disabled fellow-tribesman in the face of the pursuing enemy. Only men who had performed this deed were privileged to ride with the women captured by the Foxes or Lumpwoods during the period of licensed wife-kidnapping (see p. 224). Other warriors of distinction enjoyed similar social prerogatives, especially in some of the important ceremonies. Thus, in the Tobacco dance adoption, a short time after the entrance into the adoption lodge, some noted brave recites the story of one of his deeds. In the Sun dance performance considerable time was consumed by war captains entering with their parties and telling about their doings. A man famous for his war record is still likely to be invited to name a child (see p. 215).

Pictorial representations of deeds in realistic style were made upon men's robes and on the windbreaks (*bitā'recië*) inside the lodge, but less frequently, if at all, on the tipi cover itself, though Shows-a-fish states that some men painted the outside of their lodges in that way. Nowadays some men, including Shows-a-fish, have corresponding decoration on the canvas lining of the inner walls of their log cabins.

According to Yellow-brow, the taking of guns from the enemy was symbolized by wearing a shirt decorated with ermine skins; leggings fringed with such skins or with scalps denoted that the wearer had led an expedition that returned with booty; the striking of coups was indicated by wolf tails at the heels of moccasins; while the cutting of picketed horses was not represented by any special device. Gray-bull says that captains used only a few real scalps for a fringe, substituting horsehair in the rest of the available space. Blue-bead stated that a warrior who struck coups and took horses would wear a scalp or ermine shirt; a captain trimmed the fringe of his leggings and the soles (heels?) of his moccasins and tied a scalp to his horse's chin on festive occasions.

On being requested to recount his deeds, Itsū'ptete recited the following, drawing a line on the ground for each item:—

1. I took an iron gun.
2. I took a bow.
3. I led a war party that killed an enemy.

4. I was shot.
5. I killed a horse.
6. I shot a man.
7. I brought home ten horses.
8. I went to war about fifty times.
9. The Sioux badgered me, I shot one of them.

War parties started as the result of some dream or vision, either by the captain himself or by some medicineman advising him. The visionary would prophesy the exact circumstances under which his *protégé* would kill an enemy, capture horses, and the like. Thus, a medicineman named Sore-tail repeatedly bade Cuts-the-picketed-mule's father set out on expeditions. Once he predicted that the party would come back on the seventh day after killing three enemies, the last one lacking one hand; and the party really killed three Sioux scouts the last of whom had no thumb on his right hand. Again, he sent out the informant's father, telling him to bring two Sioux heads, and this prophecy likewise came true. On a third occasion, Sore-tail bade the same man go, predicting that he would be away for thirteen days and capture but a single scalp, and this also was verified by the result. A fourth time he sent the warrior off to bring back three enemies, and again things happened as he had foretold.

An account by Gray-bull indicates that a man known for his war medicine would be approached by a young man desirous of obtaining a reputation for martial deeds and asked to part with his medicines. If the owner consented and thereafter had a dream relating to some war exploit, he would notify the buyer to that effect, bidding him organize a party. However, the original owner at first sold merely the material part of the medicine, reserving for himself the power of dreaming an expedition, and after the return of each party he was entitled to receive horses from the buyer. Only for (or after?) the fourth time a war medicine buyer acquired the full possession of his charm with the power of independently setting out as leader of a company of warriors.

Hillside, Flathead-woman, and Gray-bull were all fitted out by the same medicineman. The first two received arrows, while Gray-bull received a tooth, but the accessories were alike in each case. Gray-bull's tooth had been extracted from the corpse of White-cub, a famous Crow chief who had been slain by the enemy together with all his war party, by White-cub's brother. The man who first bought the relic was very successful, accordingly Gray-bull bought the tooth for ten horses. He also enjoyed good luck thereafter, so that he got together a herd of from 70 to 90 horses. The tooth had an appendage composed of a magpie tail, an eagle tail, and a red feather. All war captains had a magpie tail, "probably because they considered the magpie most sacred."

Two kinds of officers were distinguished on a war party,— the captain, *ĩ'ptse-akè* (literally, pipe-owner), and the scout, *aktsĩ'te*.¹

Since the captain was either himself the person who had received the revelation on the strength of which the expedition was undertaken or at least represented the real visionary, he was entirely free from all the menial labors incident to the trip, and was theoretically entitled to all the spoils. In practice, he hardly ever appropriated all the property; a captain who attempted to do so was criticised for his lack of liberality. The pipe carried by the captain was an ordinary pipe; it was lighted by one of his followers. The captain's medicine was carried by the warrior who walked in front of the rest, and usually no one was permitted to go on the right of this leader, though for some medicines the rule was that no one should pass to the left of the medicine carrier. If one of these regulations was broken, it was believed that some mishap would befall the party. When the party reached the locality specified in the dream or vision from which the expedition originated, the captain took out his medicine from its wrappings, smoked it with incense, and held it towards the enemy, at the same time singing a song against them.

The scout carried, as his badge of office, a wolf or coyote skin and is indicated accordingly in pictorial representations of war exploits. From some of Gray-bull's statements it would appear that the wolf skin was really part of the *captain's* medicine and was merely carried by the scouts, but the same authority also said that some scouts who had seen a wolf in their visions would prepare wolf skins for their associates, sometimes painting the breast yellow, presumably to conform to their revelation.

Gray-bull narrates the following personal war tale, which terminates in a generalized account of the proceedings after a war party's return. "A woman had had her son killed by the enemy. She came where I was seated with my medicine-father,² holding a pipe in her hands, which she placed in front of me. My medicine-father bade me pick it up, light, and smoke it. I obeyed, and then handed the pipe to him. There was a crowd of people in the lodge and the pipe was passed round the circle. I did not yet know that the woman had a horse loaded with gifts outside. She unloaded the presents, and my 'father' gave me one striped blanket and had his wife distribute the remainder of the property. She gave the reins of the horse to me. My 'father' thus addressed her: 'Well, you have given my son the pipe, my heart is bad' (that is, I am angry at the enemy). He then spoke to me for a while, whereupon I called out to her word for word what

¹ According to my most recent information there were some additional officers.

² That is, the former owner of his war medicine (see p. 232).

he had told me: 'Grandmother, to-morrow I shall make a sweat lodge, the next night I shall start.' On the following day I made a sweat lodge. Before starting I called on the old lady and again told her that on the next morning I should be on my journey and that eight days hence she should pulverize charcoal and fat and look out for me.

"Six days later we were sighted by a body of Piegan, who stole the horses we had not picketed. We followed in pursuit, found four Piegan, killed them, and recovered all but two horses. We then turned homeward. Starting out we had traveled very slowly, but coming home we proceeded with the utmost dispatch. The eighth night was drawing near. I left my party to be home in time and found the old woman waiting for me at the outskirts of the camp. She began to cry, and asked me whether I was coming back with spoils. I told her I had killed four of the enemy and bade her cease crying and prepare charcoal since the rest of the party were coming. She continued to cry and wished to get further details, but I loped away, to report to my 'father' who had accompanied the expedition. I found all the party painted with charcoal. We went to the edge of the camp for the purpose of showing off our prize to the camp,—an act known as *baci's exusûe*. The man who struck the first coup had also captured a gun, and he was taken for the leader. His shirt was steeped in a mixture of blood and charcoal. We formed a line behind until we reached the camp, round which we paraded, the leader reciting his coup. We stopped. All the people whose relatives had been killed by the enemy approached. The honor men brought drums, and women came to sing with the mourners. The scalps taken were distributed among the mourners. The man who struck the first coup was led around in a conspicuous fashion by old praise-singers, followed by the warriors and an escort of women marching abreast with the warriors, but separated from them by the musicians. In the center of the camp a double circle was formed, and the *bā'há'tsk-e disûe* (Long Dance) was begun. Only the men who had been on the expedition participated in this performance. After the dance, each warrior individually invited the people to his lodge in order to tell them the story of the war party. On this occasion coup-strikers were celebrated by praise songs chanted by their fathers' fellow-clansmen. By way of compensation the singers received presents, which were largely contributed by each warrior's own clan.

"They waited for a favorable day, then a herald proclaimed a performance called *tsū're isa'* (Big Dance?). The best singers reassembled for this occasion. Each coup-striker placed his medicine on his wife's head and had her carry his weapons. The war captain would tie his medicine to his wife's back or to a long stick she was to raise. All the camp turned out to view the proceedings. When a man had duplicate medicines, one was

taken by his wife and the other by himself. The captain's wife and the wives of the coup-strikers stood in the center and danced until evening, when they ceased; but the mourners, with blackened faces, continued to dance until the next morning. Warriors who had struck coups were again led around by old men. The next morning, before sunrise, people sneaked into the warriors' lodges and threw off their blankets though they might be with their wives. The warriors then dressed up and began to dance with the mourners. The captain called to the coup-strikers to prepare coffee and food for the dancers who had been jerked out of bed. There was bustle in the camp, and people went to look at the performance. The coup-strikers were again praised in song. The mourners danced until noon."

Additional data on some of the points dealt with in the foregoing quotation, as well as on some other features, were given on another occasion by the same informant. Members of a victorious war party killed a buffalo on their return and put the blood into a paunch. Then all took their robes and whitened them with wetted clay. Dry pine wood and wild *pū'pue* ("pampas") grass were burned separately to make distinct piles of ashes. The two kinds of charcoal and the blood were mixed in warm water, which was stirred. Four or five eminent men recited their deeds and began to paint each warrior's robe with the symbol of the first coup struck. A small stick is used for marking. In the meantime food has been prepared. Then each of the eminent men instructs the privates how to paint so many horse tracks or so many slain enemies, corresponding to their former exploits. Some human figures were painted crosswise to represent Sioux (or other enemies?). The entire shirts of the first coup-striker and gun-taker were blackened, the second and third men to count coup on the same enemy had only half their robe blackened, and the fourth counter on the same enemy only had the arms of his shirt painted black. Thus decorated, they returned and paraded through the camp.

One or two nights later all who participated in the killing of the enemy painted their faces dark red.¹ They marched through camp, the captain in the rear, with a herald behind him. The herald cried out, "Young women, all of you put on your finery and go to the lodge of the Pipe-owner, we shall have a collation there to-night." After the parade all the people went to the captain's lodge. Women kept streaming in and were ordered to seat themselves behind the warriors of their choice. Scout ("wolf") songs and scalp songs were sung. The women behind the coup-strikers

¹ The face was always blackened to indicate the killing of an enemy at the war party's return. Gray-bull probably means that some time after the return the paint was changed to dark red.

took each her chosen warrior's robe and tomahawk, stood by the door where they were in a conspicuous position, and began to dance. The herald, who was seated by the door, named the first coup-striker, and when this brave had answered, the herald bade him fill a pail with cherry dessert brought in by the women and give it to his wife. The first scout to sight the enemy had the pick of the food prepared, and turned over to his wife whatever he selected, whereupon he waited on all the other women present. The two scouts helped themselves, then they waited on the other men. After the feast the women were told to go home with the food left over and return to the lodge. The men also went off for willow branches and lined up ready for the women, who took the willows. A herald cried out, "Untie your horses and take them farther away, these young men are going to strike the tent." Then they struck the Pipe-owner's lodge with the willows amidst the beating of drums, while some men were shooting off their guns into the air. The horses were frightened and ran away. The women sang during this performance. Usually five or six tents were struck, then the men stopped. Sometimes they continued till morning. In the meantime, the Long Dance (see p. 234) was celebrated in the center of the camp.

Supplementary data were obtained from Blue-bead. When a man had announced his intention to go on the warpath, the news spread rapidly and those willing to accompany him had moccasins made for the journey. They often set out after sunset or when it was already dark. Each man led a dog by a rope that was afterwards used for the horses stolen from the enemy, and the dog was laden with the moccasins and a small bucket. For a shelter they erected windbreaks of sticks interlaced with bark and sometimes roofed with foliage. Scouts were sent ahead, and if they sighted the enemy they came back to give a report to that effect, which was called *batsi'k-arakùe*. When coming back, the scouts gave a wolf howl, sang, and danced the scout dance. After this performance the party went to the spot where the enemy had been seen, and after espying them again they headed them off and hid along their path. Each sang medicine songs and tied his individual war charm to the back of his head. One man kept peeping out from behind a rock. When the enemy approached, the Crow suddenly attacked them and shot at them as they fled. When the first enemy had been struck, there was a scramble to get the honor of striking him. Some took off the scalp and stretched it in a hoop. They scraped the flesh off with a knife and blackened the dried scalp with charcoal. The scalp was afterwards produced as evidence of the killing and was held aloft at the end of a long stick.

On the return the party killed a buffalo, saved the blood, and put it into the inner lining of the stomach. The blood was mixed with charcoal until

it was quite black, then the shirt of the first coup-striker was blackened with the mixture, and he wore this when they got back to camp. Then each one marked up his robe with parallel stripes and from four to six roughly sketched human figures, the number not depending on the number of enemies struck. The last night before getting back, was spent very close to the Crow camp. In the morning, as soon as they were within shooting distance, they fired off their guns and made a characteristic noise. Arrived at the edge of the camp, they dispatched the coup-strikers to bring one drum for every member of the party. In the meantime the women got ready, and danced ahead of the warriors into the camp, followed by the party.

The night after this triumphant return the scouts announced that the women were to clean all their dishes and assemble in a large lodge, as they were going "to strike the tent" (*acđítuē*). The men of the war party got into the tent and beat their drums, singing wolf songs. Food, consisting mainly of stewed berries, was served by the coup-strikers. Then the older men issued an order that the women should take the remainder of the food home and return for the *acđítuē* performance. In the meantime the boys cut long willow sticks and leaned them against the tipi. After the women's return, each warrior took a willow and all marched to another tipi that had been selected for the purpose. All rushed towards it and struck it with the willows, each at the same time making a noise and singing victory songs. Then they proceeded to the center of the camp and performed a dance there. The men wrapped their blankets about their women partners and danced in a circle with a step resembling that of the Owl dance, but circling both right and left.

If a member of the war party had been killed, a messenger was sent ahead toward the Crow camp. From a high eminence some distance from the camp he fired a gun, and when the people looked he waved his blanket, signaling from what direction he had come. The people all knew then what had happened and who was the captain of the unlucky party. The messenger signaled with the blanket, and threw it away to one side. This meant that one man had been killed. If more than one Crow had suffered death, the blanket was picked up and the signal repeated for each additional victim. Then the messenger never went to the camp, but sat down, and men were dispatched to him to learn the details of the disaster. Then the entire camp mourned. The war party stayed in the hills, mourning for ten days, during which period they might not drink from a cup in the ordinary fashion, but had others serve them with drink. After this space of time they set off again without having re-entered the camp. If on this second trip they brought back horses they ceased to mourn; but the family of the slain Crow continued to cry until an enemy had been killed.

Among the signals used by the Crow, Blue-bead mentions the flashing of a mirror to indicate the sighting of the enemy. To hold out a blanket and turn it was a summons to come nearer. This method was successfully employed by my interpreter in 1907 in calling a man about a mile away on a hillside. When the person to whom the message was to be given was very far off, the signaler ran back and forth to attract attention. Smoke signals were used in former days, but before Blue-bead's time. Scouts sometimes used fire as a signal to show a war party where they were.

OATHS.

Owing to the rare occurrence of oaths and ordeals in the New World,¹ the custom to be described is of considerable interest. It was first noted by Mr. Simms,² and later by Mr. Curtis.³ The closest analogy in any other tribe is, so far as I know, the oath of the Cheyenne as described by Dr. Grinnell.⁴ The Crow name for the practice, *ack·âpbatsû'pasûE*, indicates that it is a highly specialized usage and does not correspond to an oath or ordeal in the wider sense of these terms. *Ack·âpe* means "exploit"; *bâts* is a reciprocal prefix; and *û'pasûE* is the abstract noun from the verb meaning "to dispute."⁵ Accordingly, the term may be rendered: "the disputing with each other as to war honors."

If two men both laid claim to the same coup there were two slightly different modes of testing their veracity before an assembly of warriors. (According to Mr. Curtis, it was a man's joking-relatives that made him resort to the ordeal in order to settle the disputed point.) Either each of the contestants in turn took a knife, put it in his mouth, pointed it at the Sun, and recited a formula affirming the justice of his claim and invoking death on the one that lied. Or, the people took an old, dry buffalo head, painted the tips of its horns red,⁶ and laid it down. An arrow infixed in a piece of lean meat was placed upon the head. Then each rival in turn raised the arrow, pointing his right index finger at the head of the arrow, and recited a formula similar to that described above. If neither of the contestants was afraid to undergo this ordeal, the truth of their statements could not be determined on the spot. But if some time after the test one

¹ Boas, p. 169.

² *American Anthropologist*, 1903, p. 733.

³ IV, p. 24, and frontispiece.

⁴ Pp. 300-301.

⁵ *awû'pacik'* = "I dispute."

⁶ Gros-Ventre-horse says that only one horn was painted red.

of them was afflicted with some misfortune, then the Crow regarded him as the liar and his rival as the one justly entitled to the disputed honors.

Birds-all-over-the-ground says that the arrow was painted red on half of its point to symbolize blood, that the meat represented the contestant's body, and that each contestant rubbed the arrow over his mouth.

The following formulae were given by several informants:—

(1)

"cō'oke kō bī'cīrēk, cē^{ie}matsik."

"Whoever may lie he will die."

(2)

"hin' é [dā'akce] bī'itsik. bā'ritsim, mi arákac."

"This [coup] I first I struck, me you¹ see."

Then, after putting the knife in the mouth:—

"akbī'ce sā'hi."

"The one that lies shall die."

(3)

acbá ihē'c	bī'ren	bā'ritsik.	áx'acē,	awásara'kek	mi arákam
The enemy	I myself	struck.	Sun,	downward looking	me you see
bā'ritsic.	bī'ren	bā'ritsic.	pī'ctsisa	acbá ihē'	bā'rek, karitsi'
as I struck	I myself	struck him.	In the future	enemy	when I meet, again

ar'ítsem bē'wik.

well I shall have.²

A brief concrete account by Lone-tree may well be quoted verbatim.

Text.

bī'ren	dúxiwārē'k	i'ptse+akē	bīk.	dē'ra	patskirisé	dō ^{no} sen
I my- self	on a war party went,	The pipe- holder	(was) I.	Then	way up on a big hill	on this side
bicém	bari'wī'EWuk.	ū'wutbaràxiē	i'bā'riwi'EWuk.	hēm	isā'kce	
buffalo	we went after.	Guns	with we went after.	Then	young men	
nū'pēm	dē'wa'tsē'k	diwatsē'wiawak.	itdi'sue	acbā' ihé		
two	I sent	to shoot them (?).	Just before they came to buffalo.	enemies		
kucbasū'k.	hēm	bíck.arūk.	baré	ā'xiēk	baré	dahī'uk.
towards they ran.	Then	towards me they ran.	Us	they sur- rounded.	us	they fight.

¹ The Sun.

² That is to say, "If I meet an enemy in the future, may I overcome him without difficulty."

awáxpe My party	arahó' main	dū'ók. were coming.	hēm karakō'm Then	bāwatsī'ók, we fought,	hawa'tem one
mapī'uk. we killed.	maráxiicē No-one-camped- with-him	kōn then	dā'kce coup	ditsík'. struck.	Hēm Then
ā'pacik'. disputed.	karakō' Then	mā'kuk. we came home.	apsā'ruke The Crow	ā'acisè Missouri	awúerūm, we were in there,
mī'akāte the girls	diciwa'kuk. we caused to dance.				
hēm Then	acū'tsōtse an old dry head	burutū'k. we took.	ā ^a 'cū'o The head	hiciwuk. we painted red.	arū'ute An arrow,
irúciē fresh meat					
īwapxēetuk, we stuck it into,	ā'ken on top	burusā'+uk. we laid it.	kandā'tsipbaxkū'k. We made them taste it.	"cō'oke " Whichever	kō-
bī'cīrek is the liar,	bā ^a 're hī'sa winter before	cē'emātsik'," will die,"	būk. we said.	hin'e' This	isā'kce young man
					bā'rētā'rè (that) truly not
dī'em did it	cēk. died.	kari'waxkotbū'k. Thus we did.	hin'e' This	isā'kce young man's	dā'ace name (was)
					awatsíe+ā'ec. Badger-arm.

Free Translation.

Once I went on a war party as leader. Far up on the side of a high hill we were looking for buffalo, armed with guns. I sent out two young men as scouts. Just before getting to the buffalo they chanced upon the enemy and ran towards me. The enemy surrounded us and began to attack us. The main body of my party came up, then we fought against the enemy and killed one. No-one-camped-with-him struck a coup, but another young man claimed the honor. We got home after crossing the Missouri and made our girls perform a dance in celebration of the victory. Then we took an old dry head and painted it red, impaled a slice of fresh meat on an arrow, and laid it on the skull. We made the contestants taste the meat, saying, "Whichever lies, will die before next winter." The young man that had not struck the coup died. This was our usage. The young man's name was Badger-arm.

SONGS OF PRAISE (mā`tsikarū`ε).

Songs of praise were sung by the father and fellow-clansmen ¹ of a warrior returning from a victorious expedition against the enemy. They might also be sung during the expedition either by the leader or some of the old men accompanying the party. At the present day, aged men and women sing in praise of younger people who have presented them with valuable gifts. Such songs may be heard at Lodge Grass during the week of July celebrations as acknowledgments of the horses given away in connection with the Hot dance. The singers call off the names of their benefactors, and in former times those of the successful warriors were called out in corresponding fashion.

Songs of praise are said to have originated in dreams and are interpreted by the Indians in their own way; some date back to very remote times. Gray-bull recently sold his praise songs for a horse. The use of particular sets of sung words for the purpose of praising someone seems in some cases to be purely conventional, as the sense bears no apparent relation to any meritorious deed or act. For example, as a specimen of a praise song, which is also sung during adoptions into the Tobacco society, Medicine-crow, and Gray-bull independently cite the following: "I adopt you as my grandmother" ("di wasa`kā'm bā`wik").

Two other songs were given by Gray-bull:

(1)

bacúsak , mī ō`rewa.
Make a Tobacco Dance, (for) me wait.

(2)

batsū`kā tu , ahō`we, ahō`we, macikā`tu.
My dear younger brothers, thanks, thanks, my younger brothers (literally, my boys).

Muskrat, an old woman, lays claim to the honor of having counted coup on a Piegan and cut his scalp in the year "when the buffalo were killed." She says that the *tsi`pawā`itse* clan sang praise songs in her honor, because the woman who had raised her belonged to that clan. Muskrat had captured many arrows and distributed them among the clansmen, two apiece.

¹ Possibly this ought to read "the father's fellow-clansmen."

RECKONING OF TIME.

At present there are designations for each of our four seasons, viz. *bā're*, "winter"; *bī'awukasè*, "spring"; *bī'awakcè*, "summer"; *basè*, "autumn." However, there are indications that in ancient times the Crow, like the Blackfoot,¹ divided the year into only two seasons,— the period from the beginning of spring to the first snowfall, and the period from the first snowfall to the disappearance of the ice. For example, the officers of the military societies were invariably elected for the former space of time, and the first fall of snow absolved them from the duties of their office. Years are designated as "winters." They are distinguished by the old Crow by means of descriptive designations referring to some notable event that occurred within the respective spaces of time in question. Thus, when asked how long ago the Foxes had last issued the emblems of their society, Shot-in-the-arm began by stating that the year after that occurrence Deaf-bull had brought 80 head of horses, that year being referred to as *a'ku'xèc nū'pexprekō*, "Deaf-bull's eighty." He then proceeded to give the subsequent years as follows:—

1. *batsé sá 'pue hawī'o*, "they killed seven men."
2. *batsé tsexō hawī'o*, "they killed five men."
3. *bārarēte*, "no winter" (that is, a very fine winter).
4. *isā'tsxaruEC mārúpé*, "Two-leggings' killing."
5. *makā't bakúpe*, "children's sickness."
6. *icī'¹ sac uwacē'*, "Big-hair lost his wife."
7. *birítāc dapī'o*, "Spotted-butterfly was killed."
8. *ū'wutpapácic an'apī'u*, "Iron-ball was killed."
9. *apū'wut dū'sue*, "eating of iron noses."

(This refers to the tags on the faces of cattle at the first issue by the Government.)

The following year the Crow were moved to the Little Horn Agency, which event took place 27 years ago (in 1911), hence the last distribution of Fox emblems dates back to about 1873.

Gray-bull enumerated the following lesser divisions of the year: *buru'x-tsiritātse*, "when the ice breaks"; *maré ā'ape asi'E*, "when the leaves sprout"; *batsū'(w)ō'oce*, "when the berries are ripe"; *mare' ā'ape dē'exé*, "when the leaves turn yellow"; *mare' ā'ape tari'E*, "when the leaves fall"; *kambā're*, "when the first snow falls."

Gray-bull distinguishes the full moon *mi'ritatsi karatsitsE'xik'* (literally, "circular moon"), and the new moon, *mi'ritatsi irā'xaxèwick'at* (literally, "moon just large enough to cast a shadow").

¹ See Wissler, (a), p. 44.

CLUBS.

At the present day the place of the older military societies has been taken by four clubs,—the Night Hot dancers (*ō^otsiēc bā tawé*), more commonly known among the whites as the Night-hawks; the Big Ear-holes (*a'panō'pise*); the Last Hot dancers (*bā tawé hā'ake*); and the Sioux dancers (*nakō'ta*). With the exception of the last-mentioned organization, which is said to have been originated by the Crow themselves, all of these clubs were introduced by the Hidatsa together with the Hot (Grass) dance about thirty-seven years ago.

Gray-bull says that the Last dancers are also called Hot-dancers-with-plenty-of-money because on one occasion they had contributed more money than the other clubs for a general fund. On another occasion, they made an enclosure of red flannel at the dance house now used at Lodge Grass, and then distributed the cloth among the women.

Practically all the men now living, except perhaps the very oldest, belong to one of the four clubs and take part in the Hot dance whenever that is celebrated. On such occasions the men sit quartered off in the modern dance houses according to the club they belong to. Members of any organization dance together. There is nothing distinctive of any society in the regalia worn, except that straight and hooked staffs wrapped with otterskin are among the dance emblems of the Big Ear-holes and Night Hot dancers, who regard themselves as representatives of the obsolete Lumpwood and Fox societies respectively. In Lodge Grass these two clubs were said to be at loggerheads with each other very much as these old military societies had been; but Pryor informants denied the existence of this feeling of rivalry.

Admission into any of the clubs resembles the way of entering the military societies. That is to say, there is no formal initiation nor purchase. Ordinarily an invitation to join is offered to desirable men, that is to say, to such persons as are known for their liberality and are likely to entertain their fellow-members. Men who have a reputation of this sort are likely to be "bought out," that is, enticed from one club into another by the offer of substantial gifts. The following case is even more typical of the method pursued in the old days. Wolf-lies-down was a Last dancer. When he had died, his brother, Bird-far-away, a member of the Big Ear-hole club, was taken in his place, just as in former days new men were taken into the Fox, Lumpwood, and other military societies to supersede a deceased relative.

The clubs must be conceived as being in large measure mutual benefit organizations. When the member of a club seeks admission into one of the Tobacco societies, his fellow-members contribute to the heavy payment exacted on such occasions. Just before the mid-day intermission of a Tobacco adoption ceremony witnessed in July, 1910, each member of the Night Hot dance club, which had lined up outside the ceremonial lodge, approached a woman acting as receiver and handed her a quarter, or some such coin, as his contribution to the amount paid to the adopter of the Night Hot dancer who was being initiated. The following year Gray-bull and others similarly helped a little boy at his adoption because his father belonged to the Last Dancers' club, of which they were members. If a member of any of the clubs is required to perform a certain amount of labor on his farm-land, all his associates come to help him.

From time to time feasts are celebrated by club members. Thus, immediately after the payment of contributions in connection with the Tobacco initiation, all the Night-hawks gathered in the tent of one of the members and two men proceeded to distribute the contents of a large case of fruit in an absolutely equitable fashion, all guests receiving exactly equal shares. The only woman present at the feast was the host's wife.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS.

When a person happens to sneeze, bystanders say to him, "They are calling you, that's why you sneeze."¹ This is regarded simply as a joke.

If a person has a wart, people say, "He is a thief, he has a wart" ("bā-tari'tēm iicbitsū'icik.")²

Hide-beating (nāxbiritu'a), which among the Nez Percé and Shoshone seems to have had a serious purpose, is said to have been merely a form of amusement among the Crow. Men and women — or, according to another source of information, women with a single man for leader — went from lodge to lodge on a fall or winter evening, holding a hide perforated along the edge and beating it with sticks. At the same time they sang songs in a low tone of voice. This custom was adopted from the Shoshone. In the old days the flaps of the lodge cover on either side of the smoke-vent were used as hides.

There are two ways of insulting a Crow that seem to correspond to our

¹ "dirā'sasūe ik'ō'tk
"You they are calling, that is why."

² bitsū'E is the word for "wart."

swearing. One is to call him a ghost,—*dī axparā'axe*, "You are a ghost." In the Crow version of a familiar Plains tale, the hero's buffalo-wife, who has warned him not to insult her, immediately runs away when her husband calls her a ghost. Apparently, it is a still greater insult to be twitted with being an *akirī'hawe*, "orphan," that is, a person without relatives.

It is not considered proper to mention the name of a dead person before his relatives except while those present are smoking. The relatives themselves refer to a deceased kinsman by some new name. Thus, Currant is spoken of as "Thistles."

The rear of the lodge was called *acō'* and was the place of honor. There medicines were tied to the lodge poles, and a backrest (*icērekō'tsi'te*) was put in front of them. Between this backrest and the fireplace no one was permitted to pass.¹ A man and his wife slept on one side of the backrest, children and other relatives on the other side. A visitor took his seat on either side of the backrest. A woman sat next to her husband, but nearer to the door.

Songs composed in derision of someone that had transgressed the rules of propriety, or in revenge for some personal or group affront, seem to have figured rather prominently in Crow society. Some of those composed by the rival Fox and Lumpwood organizations will be given in another paper. Similar punishment was meted out by jilted lovers, and by one of the three local groups, when affronted by one of the others.

The latter case is illustrated by the following narrative. When Gray-bull was a young man, his division, the Many-Lodges, took a pipe to the Black-Lodges near the Missouri, and offered it to their hosts to smoke. When asked for the reason of their visit, the leaders explained that they desired the Black-Lodges to join them in fighting the Sioux. The Black-Lodges refused to take the pipe, and the Many-Lodges departed in anger. Shortly after, at the Musselshell crossing, they caught sight of about 100 hostile Sioux, with their women and children; they had put up some sweat lodges. The Sioux espied the Crow, abandoned everything and fled, pursued by the Crow. The Crow gave chase, killed twelve of the enemy, and appropriated the property left by the Sioux. Only one Crow was hit in the chest by an arrow, and he was not severely wounded.

The Many-Lodges then went back to laugh at the Black-Lodges. As soon as they were seen, the Black-Lodges guessed from their actions that

¹ Later Gray-bull said that not every lodge kept its rear backrest sacred. Rulings on this point seem to have differed also in different Hidatsa earth-lodges. In 1911 my Hidatsa interpreter was amazed to find that the grandchildren of the most conservative Indian of that tribe were allowed to pass freely between the medicines stored in the rear and the fireplace. In the earth-lodge where he had passed his youth there was a strict taboo against this practice.

they had been successful. They were jealous, and wanted to move camp. The women of the Many-Lodges, whose period of mourning had been terminated by the slaying of the Sioux enemies,¹ began to make songs deriding the two Black-Lodge chiefs:

batsé wā'perēkatsī Ec,	bācīre'	
White-on-the-side-of-the-neck,	My vulva ²	
a'a pī'waxkak	dē'wa'tsī'wik.	
I'll put round his neck,	then I'll send him away.	
tsē'tuxce	diwū'cewutawāk	barī'mik.
Bob-tail wolf, you inside my anus I'll put,	I'll walk.	
kandī'rītcīakā cēk,	dē'tyučdawa.	
When you smell the strongest,	you can get out.	

A song made about a married woman was considered disgraceful, but single women did not care about it. Such songs were generally made on the warpath and as a revenge for being jilted.

Once a woman who had been Gray-bull's mistress accompanied her husband on the warpath. Gray-bull was jealous, walked behind and composed this song, in which the woman herself is supposed to be speaking:—

"dúxirārek,	atbaréwik."
"If you go on the warpath,	I will also go."

As the party passed a little gap, the woman came just in front of Gray-bull, and he said,

"cīrērātse,	kandáwiwe."
"Yellow-one far away,	go ahead."

On another occasion, before Gray-bull had become famous as a warrior, another mistress told a woman that she did not consider Gray-bull a man at all, that she should leave him, that he had scarcely any hair on his head, and that she would have nothing more to do with him. This occurred in the beginning of the winter. In the spring Gray-bull went on the warpath. He made up the following song in mockery of the woman:—

maré wirexbàkbīē,	dáricidaráxdek;
Medicine-doll-woman,	you do not know how to dance,
(Sneeringly), ictáxia	íciuckacdak
a gun	scabbard pretending to own,

ā'cge xē'xik.

Testes you have hanging down.

Such a song was preceded by the statement that the speaker was going to tell the truth. (See p. 225.)

¹ Evidently, some Crow warriors had been killed by the Sioux, and the Many-Lodges had wished to wipe out the misfortune by retaliation.

² That is, the singers consider the chief a woman.

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ADDENDUM.

After the galley proofs of the preceding paper had been returned to the printer for paging, I received a communication from my Lodge Grass interpreter, Mr. James Carpenter, who had kindly gone over the typescript of the section on Terms of Relationship. Mr. Carpenter finds the presentation of facts on pp. 207-212 essentially correct, but contributes some data on doubtful points, which are accordingly given below.

With regard to using *axé* in addressing a father-in-law (when a man does so at all), Mr. Carpenter writes that it is more polite to do so.

basbā'xíe is used by both sexes. If it is desired to emphasize that one is speaking of the father's own (not clan) sister, *bā'bekúā* is added.

The term given for "father's clansman" is employed by both sexes.

No distinction is expressed between a father's father and a mother's father.

In speaking of a "great-grandchild," *ba-ia* is added to the word for "grandchild." "Great-grandparent" is expressed by adding *ā'kúke* to the words for "grandfather" and "grandmother."

a'xpe is used in the sense of "mate," "friend," "companion" in the widest sense. The plural form *áxpue* is also employed in a plural sense.

tsiré could be used by a woman in speaking of her husband if their union was a permanent one. For example, she might say, "*bā'tsiré dú-xirék.*," "my husband has gone on a war party."

If a man intended to divorce his wife at some time, he called her, in direct address, "*īwa'k ī'mbe.*"

With regard to the terms for "my wife's elder sister" and "my wife's younger sister," the rule holds that the vocative ends in *a* and the non-vocative in *e*. *búakari'cta* can be used, but not by all, as it is not very polite.

For the precise use of *búE* my interpreter would like to consult once more an older man. It was used for "my wife," although the term also means something else. This word, as well as the preceding one, illustrates the difficulty of arriving at a complete comprehension of the system of relationship terms.

INDEX.

- Adoption, of children, 219.
 Adultery, punishment for, 223.
 Aïoswé, the son of, 92-95.
 Armor, 78, 165.
 Arrow-heads, of flint, 24.
 Arrows, 78, 135; blunt, 24; feathered, 24.
 Arrow points, 132.
 Art, 53-56; decorative, 148-149.
 Axes, grooved, 51; stone, 132.
- Babiche, 128.
 Baby carriers, 144-145.
 Bags, bladder, 52; legskin, 50; netted, 51; woven, 128.
 Bandoliers, 55.
 Bands, of the Crow, 184; Eastern Cree, 9.
 Bark, as lodge covering, 12.
 Baskets, 128, 129; birchbark, 144; splint, 53.
 Beadwork, 56, 123.
 Beaming tools, 126.
 Bear, customs connected with, 69-73, 162-163; dance, 40; as food, 26-27; hunting, 72-73; manitou, 75; pole, 162, 163.
 Beaver, used for food, 25; wife, 105-107.
 Berdaches, 151-152, 226.
 Berries, as food, 30, 138.
 Birchbark, carrying baskets, 47; decorated, 55; head covering, 12; realistic writing on, 47; use of, 12, 130-131; vessels used for boiling, 30.
 Black-Lodges, 245.
 Boundaries, imaginary, in lodges, 120.
 Bowdrill, 138.
 Bowls, of wood, 134.
 Bows, 135; sinew-backed, 24.
 Bowstrings, 135.
 Breechclout, 121; rabbitskin, 36.
 Buffalo hunting, 229.
 Bull roarers, 141; kinds of, 60.
- Burden, frames, 144; strap, 43.
 Burial, 187; methods of, 80, 106-168, 226-227.
- Caches, 31-32.
 Canoes, 42-43; method of making, 131-132.
 Cannibalism, 25, 79, 82.
 Cannibals, 88, 114-115.
 Caribou, drive, 26; hunting game, 38; method of hunting, 25-26; skins, as head covering, 12-13; skins, as lodge covering, 13; stomach, used for boiling, 26.
 Catlin, George, 228.
 Cat's cradle, 38, 140.
 Celts, 5.
 Central Algonkin, 61.
 Ceremony, bear hunting, 69-72; caribou hunting, 26.
 Charms, bearskin, 72; hunting, 137; war, 236.
 Chiefs, 57, 150, 228, 230.
 Childbirth, 218.
 Children, training of, 39, 58, 151, 219.
 Chippewa, 117.
 Chisels, of beaver teeth, 44, 52.
 Clans, 56, 186-189; of adopted children, 219; affiliations, 196-199; associations, 193, 194, 196; Hidatsa, 207; linked, 206; names of, 190; origin traditions of, 200-201; Saulteaux, 150; system, 189-196.
 Clark, W. P., 184.
 Clothing, men's, 15-17, 121, 122; rabbitskin, 35-36, 122; women's, 18-19, 121, 122; symbolic of war deeds, 231; worn during war, 78, 123, 165.
 Clubs, 243-244.
 Coastal Algonkin, 167.
 Coats, of caribou skin, 15; painting on, 55.
 Combs, of birch wood, 21.

- Comrades, 212.
- Conical lodge, 12-13, 119-120.
- Conjuring, 67-68; dance, 68, 78; house, 14; lodge, 120; malevolent, 153-154.
- Contests, 202-204.
- Cooking, 28-29.
- Coup, 222; term defined, 230.
- Courtship, 220.
- Cradles, 46.
- Crazy dog organization, 184.
- Cremation, 166.
- Crow, divisions of, 183, 185.
- Cup-and-pin-game, 37, 139.
- Curtis, Edward S., 185, 191.
- Dances, 142; deer, 40, 73; midéwin, 153; return of war party, 235-236; war, 165.
- Dart game, 38.
- Deadfalls, 135-136.
- Death, manner of announcing, 47.
- Decorations, on birchbark utensils, 128.
- Deer dance, 40, 73.
- Descent, among the Cree, 56; among the Crow, 186.
- Deserted children, 169.
- Designs, on bandoliers, 55; in decorating birchbark, 148; of European origin, 149; in facial scarification, 23; flower, 56; geometric, 53-54; on leggings, 56; in painting the face, 21-23; protective, 149; in tattooing, 23.
- Directions, names for, 147-148.
- Discovery dance, 40.
- Divorcee, 223.
- Dogs, domestication of, 43; feast, 153; use of, 48.
- Dolls, used in medicinal practices, 160.
- Dreams, before going on a war party, 232; power revealed through, 61, 62; preliminary to joining the midéwin, 154.
- Dresses, women's, 121, 123.
- Drums, 143; kinds of, 41-42; used by shaman, 153.
- Drumsticks, 143.
- Dyes, 130.
- Ear piercing, ceremonial, 218.
- Earrings, 24, 125.
- Evil father-in-law, 90, 91.
- False Face society, 160.
- Feasting dance, 40, 57.
- Firedrill, 33.
- Fire-making, 33, 138.
- Fireplace, position in the lodge, 13.
- Fish, methods of cooking, 137; hooks, 137.
- Fishing, 27-28, 137; through the ice, 28.
- Fleshers, of bone, 125.
- Flute, for charming women, 222.
- Folklore, Cree, compared with other tribes, 82.
- Food, 24-33, preparation of, 133-134.
- Football, 38.
- Fox and geese game, 141.
- Fox society, 224, 243.
- Gambling, 36.
- Games, 139-142.
- Goose hunting game, 38.
- Government, 228-230.
- Grass dance, 243.
- Guardian spirits, 61, 63.
- Guests, place of honor in lodge, 119, 120.
- Hair, method of dressing, 23-24, 124.
- Headmen, 186.
- Hell-diver, 82, 95-96.
- Hidatsa, 183, 184, 206, 207, 223, 243.
- Hide-beating, 244.
- Hoods, of rabbitskin, 36.
- Hodge, F. W., 184.
- Hoodwinked dancers, 84.
- Horned snake, 82.
- Horse society, 184.
- Hot dance, 223, 224, 243.
- Hunting, 25-27, 68-78, 134-136; customs, 162-164.
- Husbands, throwing-away of, 224.
- Insane, treatment of the, 78, 161, 167.
- Inheritance, among the Crow, 188; among the Saulteaux, 150.
- Iroquois, 79; Falls, legend of, 115-116.
- James Bay, 9, 100.

- Joking relationship, Crow, 187, 189, 204-205; Hidatsa, 206.
- Känwéó, 108-112.
- Kissell, Miss M. L., 35.
- Knistenaus, 9.
- Knives, crooked, 51, 132, 134; stone, 52.
- Labor, division of, 58, 126.
- Labrets, 125.
- Lacrosse, 38.
- Language, Crow, 183; Eastern Cree, 11.
- Leggings, 15; decorations on, 19; rabbitskin, 36.
- Lenapé, 167.
- Lodges, conical, 12-13; dome-shaped, 13-14; menstrual, 220; metáwin, 155; sweat, 14; two-fire, 14; types of, 119-120.
- Long dance, 236.
- Loom, for weaving rabbitskin blankets, 35.
- Lullabies, Crow, 218.
- Lumpwoods, 224.
- Lynx, as food, 27.
- Man, origin of, 112.
- Many-Lodges, 184, 245.
- Marriage, 57-58, 150-151, 206; between members of one band, 184; customs, 223; intra-clan, 189; regulation of by clan, 188-189, 201; relation to the clan, 193, 194.
- Maskegon, 8.
- Mats, 127.
- Maximilian, 184.
- Meat, methods of cooking, 133; preparation of, 28-30.
- Medicines, 76-77, 154, 161; inheritance of, 188; manner of obtaining, 78, 160.
- Menstrual customs, 152, 220.
- Midé dance, 40.
- Midéwin, admission to, 61, 156; ceremony, 62, 152-153, 155-159; dances, 142; final ceremonies of, 120; origin of, 157-159.
- Migis, used in midéwin ceremony, 156.
- Mishi Shigak, 96-100.
- Mistresses' names, calling off, 224-226.
- Mittens, types of, 21.
- Moccasins, children's, 121; deer's tooth style, 20; rabbit's nose style, 21; rabbitskin, 36; sturgeon skin, 126; types of, 123-124.
- Montagnais, 55.
- Months and seasons, 147.
- Mooney, James R., 184.
- Moose, hunting customs, 164; manner of butchering, 135.
- Moosonee, 9.
- Mountain Crow, 183, 185.
- Mourning customs, 167, 227-228, 237-238.
- Murder, indemnity paid by clan for, 187; punishment for, 230.
- Muskéko-wug, 9.
- Names, 151, 202, 206, 215, 231; changing of, 78, 216-217.
- Nanabozo, 82.
- Naskapi, 11, 21, 38, 39.
- Needle cases, 51.
- Needles, 127, 128, 132; bone, 45.
- Nets, 128, 137.
- Net sinkers, 28.
- Nicknames, 217.
- Noose, for prairie chicken, 136.
- Nose rings, 125.
- Oaths, 238-240.
- Ojibway, 65; divisions of, 117.
- Omishus, 168-172.
- Otter, 82, 112-113; hunting game, 37.
- Owl dance, 237.
- Painting, body, 23, 124; on caribou skins, 73; ceremonial, 125; on drums, 41-42; facial, 21-22, 54, 124, 235; in midéwin ceremony, 153; realistic, on canoe prows, 149; on rocks, 130; symbolic, on coats, 15; symbolism in, 53; on tents, 55.
- Paints, 130.
- Parent-in-law taboo, 211; removal of, 213.
- Parker, A. C., 140.
- Pemmican, 28, 138.
- Penobscot, 55.

- Petitot, E., 63.
 Pictographs, 165.
 Piegan, 234, 241.
 Pipes, 143; clay, 130; forms of, 39-40; Micmac type, 143-144.
 Plains Saulteaux, 117.
 Poles, used in constructing a lodge, 12.
 Police, tribal, duties of, 229.
 Polygamy, 57, 151, 210.
 Poppuns, 141.
 Population, of Crow reservation, 186.
 Pottery, 30, 130.
 Praise songs, origin of, 241.
 Prayers, during battle, 79.
 Property marks, 13, 55.
 Puzzle, hoop and rings, 140.
- Quill work, 123, 129.
- Rabbit-skin, process of weaving, 35-36; used for clothing, 17, 121; string, method of twisting, 35.
 Rafts, of lodge poles, 221.
 Rattles, 41; of birchbark, 143; in midé ceremony, 153.
 Relationship, terms of, 207-212.
 Religion, 59-76.
 Rice, wild, culture, 137-138.
 River Crow, 183, 185.
 Rolling head, 169.
- Sacrificial posts, 73.
 Scaffold burial, 167.
 Scalping, 79, 165, 166, 231.
 Scalplocks, 124.
 Scarification, facial, 23.
 Scrapers, semilunar, 52.
 Seals, as food, 27.
 Seneca Iroquois, 140.
 Sewing, 127.
 Shaman's dance, 143.
 Shamanism, 60-68.
 Shamanistic performances, 153, 165, 166.
 Shields, 78.
 Shinny game, 141.
 Shoshone, 244.
 Shovels, snow, 51.
 Signals, 47-48, 146, 237.
 Sinew, used for sewing, 127.
- Sioux, 188.
 Skin dressing, 33-34, 125-126.
 Sleds, 43, 145.
 Snares, bear, 135; caribou, 26; lynx, 135; partridge, 27; rabbits, 25.
 Snow goggles, 133.
 Snowshoes, 43-45, 128, 145.
 Snow snake, 141.
 Songs, 46; derisive, 245; hot dance, 223; midéwin, 63, 155; midéwin, on birchbark, 153; of praise, 241; war, 79; wolf, 237.
 Southern Saulteaux, 117.
 Spear, fishing, 27; war, 78.
 Speck, Dr. F. G., 55.
 Spectacles, of birchbark, 53.
 Spoons, types of, 30-31; of wood, 134.
 Stag Rock, legend of, 113.
 Stars that married Sisters, 113.
 Steatite, vessels of, 30.
 Stones, hot, used in boiling, 30, 130.
 Square game, 38.
 Subterranean springs, origin of, 83.
 Sun, chief war god, 79; dance, 213, 215, 221, 224.
 Sweat lodge, 14, 120; medicinal use of, 161-162.
 Syllabic writing, 146.
- Taboos, 12, 150, 151, 164, 214; connected with bears, 69-71, 72, 163; connected with beaver, 25; against eating caribou, 73; connected with medicine bundles, 220; parents-in-law, 211, 213.
 Tattooing, 23, 124.
 Teigibis, 95-96.
 Teikápis, adventures of, 100-104.
 Time, divisions of, 48-50; reckoning of, 242.
 Tobacco, 40; ceremonial use of, 155, 163; introduction of, 143.
 Tobacco society, 231, 244; adoption into, 241; initiation into, 187.
 Toboggans, 43, 145.
 Tops, of wood, 141.
 Torches, 133.
 Toys, for children, 39, 141-142.
 Traps, fishing, 137.

Turner, Lucien M., 21.

Two-fire lodge, 120.

Ungava Cree, 11.

Vegetable foods, 30.

Vessels, of stone, 130.

Victory songs, 237.

Virgin birth, 104.

War, 164-166; bundles, 79; clothing worn in, 17, 123; customs, 79-80; dance, 40, 78, 143, 165; deeds, reciting of, 231, game, 38; honors, contests concerning, 202-204; medicine, 78, 232, 235; parties, 233, 235, 236-237; songs, 151; tales, personal, 233-234.

Weapons, used in war, 78, 165.

Weaving, 35-36, 128.

Wemishus, 88-92.

Weirs, 137.

Whistles, used by children, 143.

Wife stealing, mutual, 224.

Williams, Mr. Jabez, 152, 167.

Windigo, 169.

Winds, beliefs concerning, 148; religious significance of, 59-60.

Winnipégo-wug, 9.

Wiságateak, 83-88.

Wisákatcak, 82.

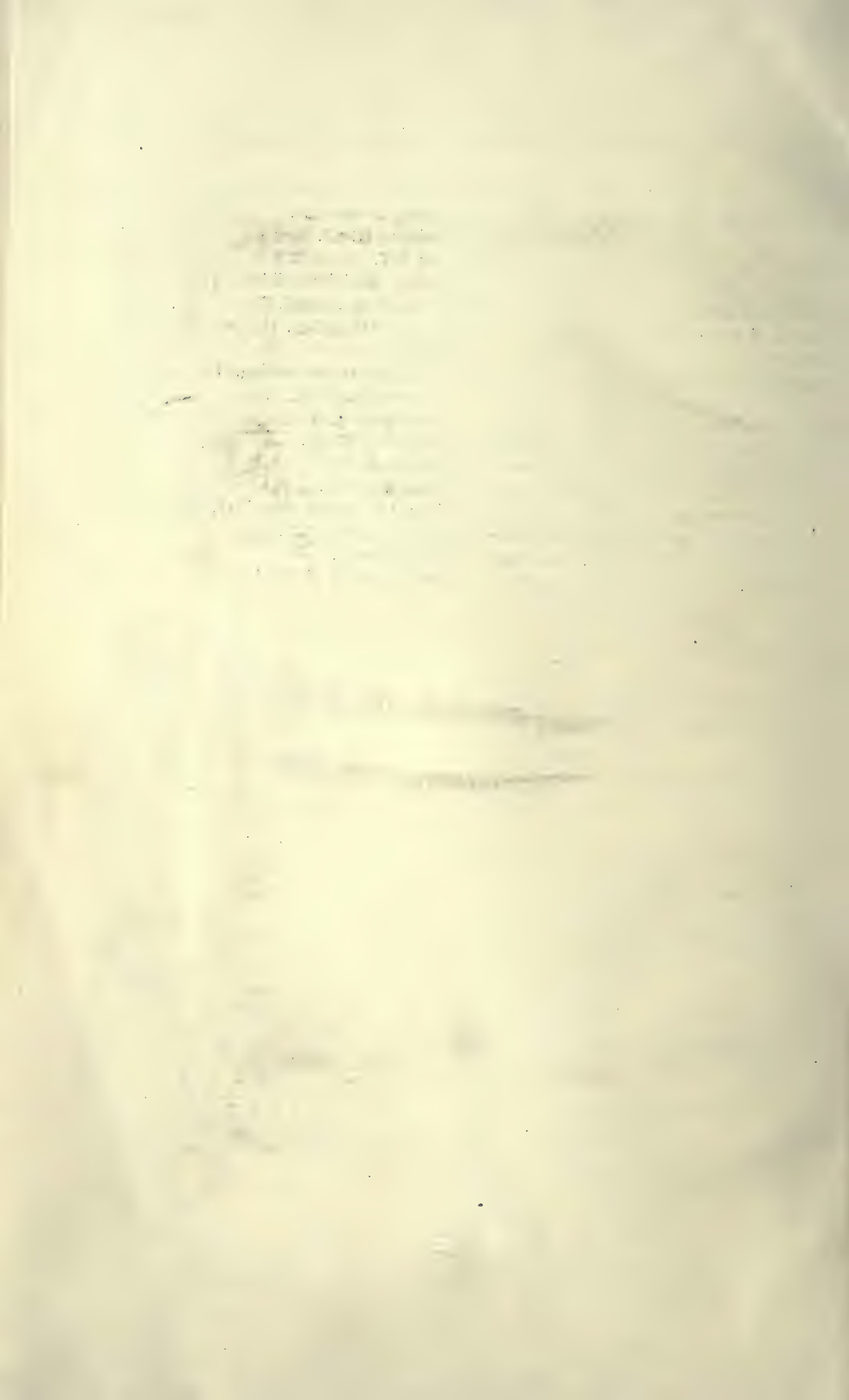
WisEkejack, 173.

Wives, "throwing away" of, 223.

Wolf songs, 235, 237.

Woods Cree, 8.

World, burning of the, 107.





CREE BARK LODGE, RUPERT'S HOUSE.

(Page 13)

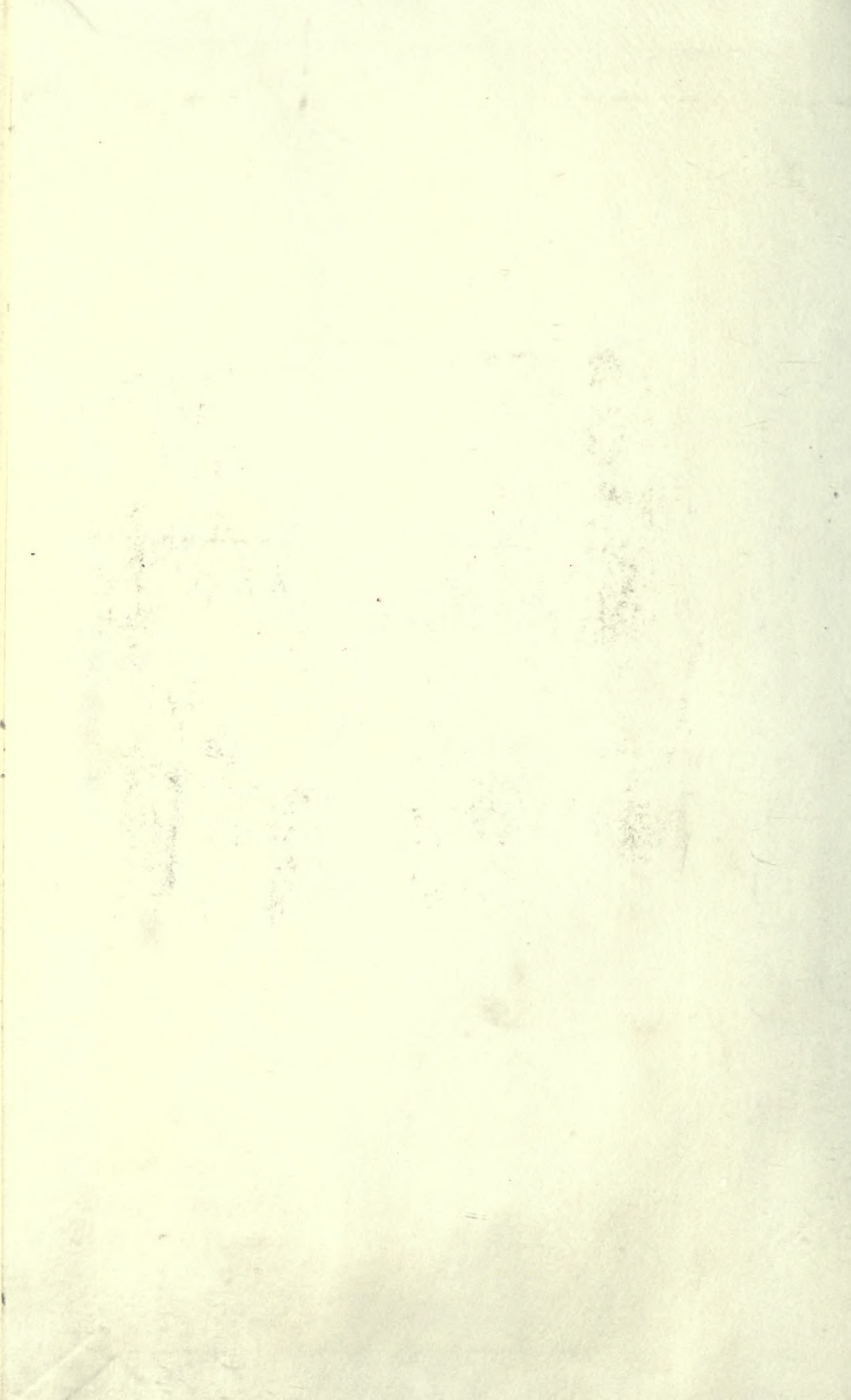


DOME-SHAPED LODGE, CREE OF RUPERT'S HOUSE.
(Page 14)



DRYING MOOSE MEAT, SANDY LAKE, ONTARIO.
(Page 133)





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